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General Staff's Lobov Assesses Troop Cuts

PM1612191988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Colonel General V. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by A. Gorokhov: "Proceeding From the Principles of Defensive Doctrine. Colonel General V. Lobov, First Deputy Chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, Answers Questions by PRAVDA Correspondent"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Gorokhov] First of all, Vladimir Nikolayevich, let us remind readers of the essence of the decision the Soviet Union made to unilaterally reduce our Armed Forces, which was announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his 7 December UN speech....

[Lobov] Our Army's numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 men in 1989-90. The volume of conventional arms will also be reduced in that period: The Armed Forces will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. There will be six tank divisions withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces temporarily stationed on the territory of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, as well as assault landing and assault crossing formations and units with their arms and combat equipment, of course. The numerical strength of personnel in the group of Soviet forces in Germany and in the central and southern groups of forces will be reduced by a total of 50,000 men and 5,000 tanks. There will also be reductions of certain units in the European and Asian parts of the USSR: 450,000 men and another 5,000 tanks.

[Gorokhov] Virtually all readers' letters received by PRAVDA during the days since the Soviet leader's New York speech contain the question: To what can the volume of the planned reductions be compared?

[Lobov] They can probably be evaluated this way: 10,000 tanks are equivalent in armament to approximately 30 U.S. tank divisions, while the reduction of the personnel's numerical strength by 500,000 would be comparable to the numerical strength of the entire FRG Bundeswehr.

[Gorokhov] Consequently, as I see it, we intend to reduce the troops that are in the immediate vicinity of the borders of NATO countries and that are capable of conducting active offensive operations.

[Lobov] Yes, you are correct. In addition to all this, the remaining divisions in these groups—the group of Soviet forces in Germany and the central and southern groups of forces—will be reorganized: They will "lose" a sizable quantity of tanks. In other words, the divisions will be given a purely defensive structure. I am convinced that this step, even though it does not completely eliminate military tension in Europe, will at least reduce it considerably.

[Gorokhov] Therefore, the forthcoming reduction will be the first practical step in the transformation of our Armed Forces in line with the adopted defensive military doctrine.

[Lobov] This is indeed so. In this context I would like to draw attention to the following fact. The Soviet Union certainly did not embark on such major unilateral reductions simply because the West is stubbornly disseminating fabrications about "the Soviet military threat" or the "threatening offensive structure" of our forces, especially those presently on the territory of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. It is a matter of consistently implementing political decisions that have been made. We are reducing and reorganizing our Armed Forces guided by the new political thinking and the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine—in other words, we are demonstrating in practice the unity of the political and military-technical aspects of the military doctrine of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty states.

[Gorokhov] We have probably reached the main question, the main problem perturbing our readers, many of whom personally create and, generally speaking, pay for those selfsame expensive weapons we are planning to reduce. I assume that the tanks to be reduced will include not only obsolete models but also the latest ones. Obviously, exactly the same could be said about artillery systems and aircraft. Therefore, I would like to ask as someone whose profession is the defense of the fatherland: Will the planned unilateral reduction not affect our country's defensive capability?

[Lobov] No, it will not affect it. The Armed Forces have and will continue to have sufficient men, equipment, and weapons to protect the motherland against any encroachments.

The main point, in my view, lies elsewhere: in the more profound appreciation by many countries and many peoples of the immutable fact that security in the nuclear and space age cannot be ensured by endlessly increasing arms. Only their reduction paves the way to genuine security. Of course, some 10-15 years ago, when the NATO countries, headed by the United States, built their relations with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states solely on the basis of hardline confrontation—the basis of the mythical idea of attaining military superiority—how could we have talked about any major, let alone unilateral, reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces? Of course not. But a qualitatively new model for ensuring security on the planet is taking shape today. That is why such constructive steps have become possible. We hope that our example will be followed by the Western countries. After all, it is necessary to practically consolidate the process of easing international tension, the process of the demilitarization of international relations, the process of deepening mutual trust in a complex sphere like the military sphere.

Naturally, the volume of reductions and the nature of structural changes in our Army are determined on the basis of a thorough analysis of the correlation of forces between the two alliances, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. After all, the real threat posed by powerful NATO groupings remains unabated. This is why, when 10,000 tanks and 500,000 personnel were "taken away" from us, we were told: Nobody is relieving you of responsibility for the country's security! This is exactly what was said at the 19th all-union party conference, which focused attention on qualitative approaches in defense building.

[Gorokhov] Let us now discuss the social aspect of the question. Many people can remember, and I myself saw, the reduction of our Army in the early sixties, when hundreds of thousands of officers were simply thrown out on the street. It is easier with ordinary soldiers, but what about career men—warrant officers, officers, and generals? What will happen to them? Judging by our mail, our readers are also greatly concerned about this....

[Lobov] I agree, the reduction of the officer corps, tens of thousands of men, is far more, immeasurably more complicated than that of enlisted men. That is precisely why the 2-year schedule has been devised as the optimum period for carrying out the necessary measures. The General Staff has elaborated a detailed plan for implementing the Soviet Government's decision. It takes into account the negative aspects of the reduction of our Army in the sixties. What specifically can I tell you? The warrant officers, officers, and generals who have served the term established by law and are entitled to a pension will be considered first for transfer into the reserves. In general, the utmost sensitivity and scrupulousness must be demonstrated on this issue. Everything possible must be done to ensure that not a single officer, warrant officer, or their family suffer either moral or material harm and that their rights are fully observed. We are confident that local party and soviet organs will not stand back from tackling this difficult social and political task.

Nor let us forget that the officer corps consists of highly skilled cadres. Their wealth of practical experience and knowledge, I am convinced, will find a fitting use in the national economy. We think that many types of the military hardware that are due to be scrapped could be fully utilized in the national economy. I have in mind, for instance, vehicles, cranes, tractor trailers, mobile generators, river crossing facilities, and so forth. Who if not military servicemen transferred into the reserves could work with this equipment? On the whole, I think, the economic effect of the planned reduction of our Armed Forces will be considerable. And we will feel this fully in 2-3 years or so.

At the end of this conversation I would like to stress that we have just one concern—the country's security must be guaranteed. After all, no one has taken from the Soviet Armed Forces the task of protecting the socialist fatherland....

NATO Reaction to Gorbachev Initiative Viewed

LD1712135988 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Ten days ago President Gorbachev announced from the rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly that the Soviet Union would considerably reduce its Armed Forces unilaterally. How did NATO react to this? Here to reply to this question is our military observer, Colonel Eduard Asaturov:

Col Asaturov said in his opinion this time the NATO leadership reacted very seriously to the Soviet initiative. None of their officials dared to call it a propaganda ploy, though some feelings of mistrust are still expressed. We'll see, some say, what actions will follow these words. Well, time will show of course, Col Asaturov went on, but I wouldn't say that following the Soviet Union's decision new approaches have taken the upper hand at NATO Headquarters. It is claimed there that the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces will in no way diminish the so-called Soviet military threat with which the Western public has been intimidated for decades. It is claimed that the Soviet troops will be reduced by half a million men at the expense of engineering and (?railway or) military units, civil defense, and other noncombat troops. Let's see if this is really so.

First of all, Col Asaturov said, didn't the Soviet leader list among the troops subject to withdrawal from Eastern Europe the tank divisions that are to be dismantled, the landing and assault and other combat troops? Besides, why do NATO experts regard engineering and railway and civil defense units as combat troops and thus inflate artificially the number of such groups to a really menacing level? Some in the NATO circles also claim that nothing will change after the elimination of 10,000 Soviet tanks. The Soviet Union, they say, will scrap the outdated T-54 and T-55 models and the most modern tanks will still remain.

It's true, of course, that the Soviet Union is going to scrap not the latest up-to-date weaponry at first. But it will scrap that weaponry which in the estimates of the NATO Headquarters gives the Warsaw Treaty countries a considerable superiority.

At first the public was intimidated with these outdated tanks and now NATO experts refuse to admit that the disbalance will reduce considerably. The same is said about the planes. It is claimed that the balance of forces will not change as the Russians remove 800 of their MiG-23 planes. These planes, of course, are inferior to a MiG-29 which won the admiration of spectators at the air show in Britain and other countries, but they could be useful still. It's no accident that up to this day American military pilots use these Soviet planes that the United States obtained via Egypt for air exercises.

In short, Col Asaturov believes it's not the kind of model or weaponry that matters. The Soviet Union has decided to reduce its Armed Forces not for the sake of getting rid of old types of armaments. It decided to do this unilaterally, without any compensation or modernization. The feeling is that the concept has changed. From the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defence needs. The Soviet Union was the first to take a step on this road, so far alone, Col Asaturov said in conclusion.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Talks Close 15 Dec

LD1612144188 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 16 TASS—The twelfth round of Soviet-American talks on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons took place from December 12th to December 15th here.

A wide range of questions were discussed during these talks: preparations for the 1990 conference on non-proliferation treaty compliance, prospects of strengthening international non-proliferation, enhancement of international guarantees, joint actions to support the International Atomic Energy Agency, and also the general world situation from the point of view of nuclear weapons non-proliferation.

Boris Semenov, deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for the Use of Atomic Energy, headed the Soviet delegation and roving Ambassador Robert Kennedy led the American delegation.

George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, opened the talks. He praised the two countries' efforts to minimise the number of nuclear weapons states. Shultz pointed to the importance of continued Soviet-American cooperation in strenthening the non-proliferation regime and also of the future discussion of these problems. He said that the two countries' leaders had expressed their satisfaction with the talks.

The discussions were held in a business-like and constructive atmosphere. Both sides reaffirmed their interest in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and their readiness to help other countries get benefits from the peaceful use of nuclear power under effective international control.

Both sides favoured regularising such talks.

Joint Statement Issued on Nuclear Test Talks

LD1612143988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] A joint press statement on the completion of the last official meeting of the third round of the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks in Geneva on limiting and, in the final analysis, halting nuclear tests, was issued by Palenykh, head of the USSR delegation, and Robinson, head of the U.S. delegation. The statement notes that this round of talks, which began on 29 August, took place in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. During the talks, the Soviet and U.S. delegations agreed on and submitted to their governments the text of a new protocol for the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes.

Chemical Weapons Talks Resume in Bern 16 Dec

LD1612190888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Bern, 16 Dec (TASS)—The USSR and U.S. delegations here today held the fourth round of consultations on preventing the spread of chemical weapons. The talks are being conducted in accordance with an agreement between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, and R. Reagan, U.S. president. The Soviet delegation was led by Yu.K. Nazarkin, the USSR's representative to the disarmament conference, while the U.S. delegation was headed by J.A. Schlossberg, chief deputy assistant secretary to the U.S. secretary of state.

Underground Nuclear Test Conducted 17 Dec

LD1712054588 Moscow TASS in English 0542 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The Soviet Union carried out an underground nuclear explosion at the test site near Semipalatinsk at 7:18 a.m. Moscow time [0418 GMT] today.

The yield of the explosion ranged between 20 and 150 kilotons. The testing was conducted with a view to upgrading military technology.

The radiation situation in the testing area and beyond the test site is normal.

Pact Defense Ministers Committee Meets in Sofia

Yazov, Other Leaders Arrive

PM1912101188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "To Defense Ministers Committee Session"]

[Text] On 16 December Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, left Moscow for Sofia to participate in a regular session of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers committee.

Army General D.T. Yazov was seen off at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Colonel General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; and Army General I.M. Tretyak, Army General M.I. Sorokin, and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers.

The send-off party included F. Spasov, Bulgarian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, and Rear Admiral I. Nikolov, military, naval, and air attache at the Bulgarian Embassy in the USSR.

Army General D.T. Yazov arrived in Sofia the same day.

He was met at the airport by Army General D. Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of national defense, and by other officials.

The welcoming party included V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces, and Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the joint armed forces, have also arrived in Sofia.

Balance of Forces Considered

LD1712173988 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia December 17 TASS—A regular meeting of the defence ministers committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) member states was held here today under the chairmanship of the Bulgarian defence minister.

The meeting was attended by the WTO defence ministers, and by the supreme allied commander and the chief of staff of the joint armed forces of the WTO member-states.

On an instruction from their governments, the defence ministers considered and discussed data on the overall correlation of forces and the amount of main types of armaments between the WTO and NATO countries, and adopted an appropriate statement of the WTO defence ministers' committee on this matter. The statement will be published at an agreed upon date.

The meeting was held in a business-like atmosphere, in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

Yazov Returns to Moscow

LD1712173488 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR minister of defence returned here from Sofia tonight after attending a regular meeting of the defence ministers committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

At the airport he was met by Nikolay Talyzin, alternate member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and by other officials.

Pact Disarmament Commission Meets 13-15 Dec

LD1612065588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Dec (TASS)—The fourth session of the special commission on matters of disarmament of the Warsaw Pact member-states took place 13-15 December. Official representatives of the foreign and defense ministries of the allied states participated. They considered the documents of the Warsaw conference of the political consultative committee and the Budapest meeting of the foreign ministers committee and examined questions on the preparation of the Warsaw Pact states for the upcoming talks on the reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals and on measures for strengthening confidence and security in Europe.

They noted the significance of the initiatives recently advanced by the Warsaw Pact states in the sphere of disarmament and of practical steps for their implementation, which create favorable conditions for an early beginning to the successful conduct of the indicated talks. In this connection, they stressed the special importance of the USSR's decision made in agreement with the allies, on the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The session passed in a businesslike, comradely atmosphere, in a spirit of constructive interaction.

The participants in the session were received by Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSCE Delegate on Gorbachev UN Speech Impact

PM1612161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Interview with Ambassador Yu. Kashlev, head of the USSR CSCE delegation, by PRAVDA correspondent B. Dubrovin, under the rubric "USSR Initiatives Are the Topic of the Day": "Tremendous Significance for Europe"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Vienna, December—The speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, has aroused tremendous interest at the Vienna CSCE meeting. B. Dubrovin, PRAVDA correspondent in Austria, asked Ambassador Yu. Kashlev, USSR delegation head, to answer a few questions.

[Dubrovin] Speaking at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, M.S. Gorbachev referred several times to the Helsinki process. How does what he said tie in with the questions now being examined at the CSCE meeting in Vienna?

[Kashlev] Very closely. Problems of security and multifaceted cooperation are being discussed here in Vienna by 33 European states, the United States, and Canada. The USSR's conceptual approaches to the problems of strengthening peace and democratizing the entire international order by preventing military conflicts and economic catastrophe—all this is quite applicable to the problems under discussion in Vienna.

Progress through a quest for general human consensus and the need to find a balance of interests within the international framework and acknowledge freedom of choice and the diversity of social development are the necessary preconditions for the successful development of the CSCE process and for the further broadening and deepening of all-European cooperation.

[Dubrovin] How have people here responded to the Soviet Union's initiatives in the disarmament sphere?

[Kashlev] Consultations are also being held here alongside the Vienna meeting to elaborate a mandate for talks on reductions in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Shaping a new model for ensuring security—by arms reductions based on the principle of reasonable defensive sufficiency mentioned by the Soviet leader rather than by building up arms—is quite applicable to these talks.

This idea in M.S. Gorbachev's speech aroused the most lively interest here, as did the resolution adopted by the Soviet Union on unilateral troop and conventional arms reductions. In many people's opinion, this major political decision will give the development of the disarmament dimension of the all-European process an additional boost and will promote a real reduction in the level of military confrontation on the continent. It will, indisputably, help the participants in the CSCE Vienna meeting to complete in the near future the preparation of mandates for the two parallel sets of talks that are to begin here soon—on conventional arms in Europe and on further confidence-building measures in the military sphere.

Vienna meeting circles note that the reductions in the Soviet Armed Forces and arms on the eve of the upcoming talks illustrate the seriousness of the Soviet Union's intentions.

All this will be of tremendous significance for Europe—a continent where the degree of concentration of military potentials has reached saturation point, one that may now start to fall following to the USSR's bold initiatives.

[Dubrovin] M.S. Gorbachev's speech devoted considerable attention to the topic of humanitarian cooperation and human rights. Is the all-European meeting tackling these in earnest?

[Kashlev] Yes, it is. Numerous unprecedented accords on humanitarian aspects that have already been coordinated in effect and that are ready to be incorporated in the meeting's final document literally constitute a breakthrough, an emergence onto a qualitatively new level in this sphere.

Petrovskiy Meets With Perez de Cuellar

LD1612234588 Moscow TASS in English 2325 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Geneva December 17 TASS—Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Vladimir Petrovskiy has had a meeting here with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who attended the meeting of the U.N. General Assembly's session on the question of Palestine.

Javier Perez de Cuellar said that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the U.N. General Assembly exerted a profound positive impact influence on the frames of mind and on the world's current processes. He described Mikhail Gorbachev's speech as an outstanding political document of our times. The success of the Soviet leader's visit to New York is also a success of the United Nations, which, following such an efficient support from the Soviet Union, will undoubtedly be able to do more to promote an end to regional conflicts, solution of mankind's other problems.

Concrete aspects of the Middle East situation, the course of Iran-Iraq negotiations, questions of the Afghan settlement, the United Nations' possibilities in attaining a tangible progress in these areas were discussed. The

confidence was expressed that it is now important not to miss the opening opportunities and to redouble the efforts :o deliver our planet from seats of war and conflicts.

Questions of enhancing the U.N. role in practical solution and concrete questions of the political and social economic order with due account for the proposals, made in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, were also discussed at meetings with Director-General, Geneva office, Jan Martenson and Executive Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe Gerald Hinteregger.f

Vladimir Petrovskiy also met with Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Egypt Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Foreign Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali, Foreign Minister of Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil, Foreign Minister of Jordan Tahir al-Masri and India's Minister of State for External Affairs Kamla Kant Tiwari [name as received]. The significance of the current process of unblocking regional conflicts and crises as a major factor of consolidating the mainstays of international peace and security was noted at the meetings. Specially emphasised in this context was the importance of strict compliance by all sides with the Geneva agreements on political settlement around Afghanistan, which laid the beginning to solution of acute international problems frokm the positions of a new political thinking, through peaceful means.

All interlocuters underlined the need for using the new situation for putting the cause of a comprehensive Middle East settlement on a practical footing through convocation of an international conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and five U.N. Security Council permanent members. It was noted that the PLO's constructive and realistic stand, which found reflection in Yasir 'Arafat's speech at the U.N. General Assembly session, emphasises the role of that organisation as a serious and competent partner in negotiations on a fair solution of the Palestinian problem.

NATO View of USSR Arms Cuts Assessed

PM1612150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "The Echo From Brussels"]

[Text] James Wright, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, described M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech as "the most positive signal to come out of Moscow in the last 70 years."

Even after allowances are made for the relevance of any historical comparisons, there can be no doubt about the universal and approving international response to what was said within the United Nations' walls on 7 December.

Western commentators do not exaggerate in declaring that the steps announced by the Soviet leader exceed the expectations of many politicians in the United States and Western Europe. The unilateral reduction of USSR Armed Forces in the country's European part and on the territory of our European allies indicates the scale of the decision made by the Soviet leadership to back by deeds its readiness to advance in the disarmament sphere.

The latest NATO Council session sat in Brussels 8-9 December—in other words, in the wake of M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech—and thus had the opportunity to formulate the initial reaction by this bloc's leaders to something that affects them most directly.

The session's final communique, published in Brussels on 9 December, points out in particular: "Among the most promising recent developments is the address President Gorbachev made at the 43d UN General Assembly session, which indicates the extent of change in Soviet politics."

The Western press is full of all sorts of conjectures and assumptions on this account. There is something among them which cannot be lightly ignored. Describing the response by some representatives of the NATO apparatus and institutions linked with the bloc, Western commentators are using the term "alarm." We would cite a statement by Simon Lunn, deputy secretary general of the North Atlantic Assembly. In his words, "NATO is now alarmed by the extent of Soviet cutbacks."

The cause of this "alarm" is the question of how and with what to respond to Moscow's steps. The fact that it is necessary to respond, and in the most specific fashion at that, is widely discussed and written about in the West.

The influential U.S. newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES took, as it were, "the bull by the horns" in an article by A. Rosenthal which it published on 11 December. The author wrote: "Is it not time to elaborate a new political course for America which would conform not only with the policy of the leadership in Moscow but also with the international situation, a course which, as some specialists on the Soviet Union believe, would go not only beyond the 'cold war' but even beyond detente?"

In other words, it is admitted that the Soviet Union has now gone further than was intended in the period of the easing of international tension. It has taken a radical unilateral step, clearing the path toward progress in the main sphere of international politics. This sector has been and still remains disarmament, both nuclear and in the sphere of conventional arms.

Yes, the scope of this step has certainly amazed many people in the West. But there is nothing surprising in the actual essence of this new Soviet initiative. It is the logical continuation and development of the course Moscow has taken in the spirit of the new political

thinking. It has already reached the 3-year mark on the time measurement scale. Thus, the NATO leadership has had time to consider the situation and to elaborate steps in response.

But what do the decisions just made in Brussels indicate?

Nuclear disarmament. The final communique on the NATO Council session says nothing at all about this. Reduction of conventional arms. Now—just as it did last spring—the NATO Council asserted that it "pursues the consideration of all outstanding questions" and issued instructions that a "complete report" be submitted to NATO members in time for the spring session of the bloc's leadership organs. It is due to be held in London in early June 1989.

And so, a delay of another 6 months. And this at time when the USSR's new and major unilateral steps in the disarmament sphere are giving a new impetus to joint constructive efforts in that direction!

Meanwhile, General Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander Europe, again a few days ago called for no delays in the "modernization" of NATO's tactical nuclear weapons. True enough, this call was not reflected in the aforementioned communique on the Brussels session. Obviously, the opposition to such plans by some NATO member governments is not diminishing but rather growing, especially in the FRG, which already boasts maximum density of weapons deployed per square km of territory.

Apart from a promise to publish in 6 months' time their "all-embracing program" for the reduction of conventional arms in Europe, the NATO leaders decided at their Brussels session to come out with certain partial opinions and recommendations on this account.

There is no doubt that the Warsaw Treaty countries will study them. I would like, however, to express certain preliminary opinions of these recommendations. They say nothing about the need to include air forces and warships in the framework of talks. Aware of their position's vulnerability on this issue, the participants in the Brussels session refer to the need for a priority reduction in "offensive types of arms."

Thus we have, on the one hand, a selective approach giving NATO grounds to evade cutbacks in the arms in which this bloc's countries enjoy a clear superiority.

On the other hand, attempts are made to somehow bring all European states to the same level, to ignore their size and geographical location, and to tailor the size of their armed forces accordingly.

The Brussels statement asserts: "No country should have the opportunity to dominate the continent by relying on the force of arms." This sound quite persuasive. But the point is that the continent is split into opposing military-political groupings. And the threat to peace in Europe stems from the stockpiling of arms within the framework of such groupings and not just in individual countries.

The NATO chiefs see nothing particularly wrong in this split of the continent. Looking ahead, they think in terms of the selfsame bloc policy and maintenance of Europe's split.

But life demands that this style of thinking be amended.

Doubts on Gorbachev UN Speech Condemned

PM1912095388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Article by Vitaliy Korionov under the rubric "Notes Of a Political Observer": "In Search of 'Counterarguments'"]

[Text] The eminent Greek statesman, Dhimitrios Maroudas, has described the new Soviet proposals as a major step which brings the peoples closer to peace on earth. This is just one statement from the inexhaustible flood of responses to M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations. The initial commentaries have been succeeded by more detailed articles discussing the problems raised by the Soviet leader. And perhaps the most characteristic feature of the international reaction to this speech by the head of the Soviet state is not simply the enormous interest but also the virtually unanimous approval and support for the new Soviet peace initiatives.

But it is just that—"virtually" unanimous. There is not total unanimity, of course. In fact, it would be amazing if it were so.

However, the strength of the new Soviet peace initiatives is so great that the enemies of international cooperation panicked at first on finding themselves at a disadvantage. As West Germany's GENERAL ANZEIGER has pointed out, the traditional diplomatic formula—"the speech still has to be carefully studied, and only then can a response be given"—is inapplicable in this situation. Realizing that it must strike while the iron is still hot, the public is demanding a response—and a positive response, at that.

But far from everyone in the NATO camp is ready to give such a response. They are looking for a seemly way out of the situation. At first they tried resorting to the old cliche: Moscow—they said—is engaged in another propaganda stunt aimed at "winning the battle for public opinion." U.S. journalist Gary Lee quoted one unnamed diplomat as saying that Moscow is merely "playing the UN card" in order to... "expand its influence, particularly in the Third World, at no cost to itself."

Yes, it is hard for some people to kick the habit of viewing all questions through the prism of "who gets the better of whom." The blinkers of anti-Sovietism make it impossible for them to see the world as it really is. But it is time that they realized that the USSR is not concerned with propaganda victories. Evidently, not everyone in the West appreciates that it is a question of mankind's survival and that the whole point of the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives is to lead mankind away from the fateful Rubicon.

Those who try to cast aspersions on Soviet policy at any price are having to try their hardest to get out of this one. Evidence of this is provided by an article written by D. Simes, senior scientific associate with the Carnegie Foundation, published the other day in THE WASHINGTON POST. "Many of Gorbachev's initiatives," Simes admits, "are indeed innovative and promising... His reforms are, without a doubt, something much greater than an attempt to reassure the West by inspiring a false sense of security. However,..." This is followed by a series of tirades designed to twist the facts.

It seems that the Soviet leadership has not given up "its intention to change the world order in line with Soviet interests and values." But how is this allegation backed up? Simes says that the fact that the Soviet Union gives priority to the universal interest "is not an act of magnanimity," although he does not cite any evidence to substantiate this "theory." On the other hand, he assures us that he knows for certain that the Soviet Union will be making cuts in its armed forces "exclusively at the expense of reserve forces, civil defense units, and construction units." And the reduction of tank troops is to be achieved by taking "obsolete systems" out of service. He adds in conclusion: "There is also nothing attractive to the United States about the proposal to broaden the role played by the United Nations—an organization where a quite stable anti-U.S. majority has formed." No support for the Soviet program to strengthen peace—that is the credo of Mr Simes.

In his turn, A. Rosenthal in THE NEW YORK TIMES entered into a profound debate as to whether a proposal for a... "condominium of superpowers" lies behind the Soviet initiatives made from the UN rostrum. Just think: to even consider a "condominium of powers" at the end of the 20th century! Not confining himself to this, the aforementioned author made another "revelation": He said that the new Soviet proposals require the future master of the White House to "cross the fundamental threshold of faith and trust." But, excuse me: Surely Moscow has not posed—nor is it now posing—to any statesman or politician the question of a change in "faith." And with regard to relations of trust between countries, we are indeed consistently in favor of establishing and developing such relations, including, of course, between the Soviet Union and the United States. However, surely the United States is not less interested than the Soviet Union in achieving trust?

Finally, in an attempt to distort the essence of the new Soviet actions in favor of peace, some of our ill-wishers are trying to make another "theory" current. Some British newspapers describe the speech by the head of the Soviet state to the United Nations as "historic" while investing their own, highly specific meaning in this word. It seems that they regard it as a statement "of the USSR's intention to become fully part of the world from which it has cut itself off for the last 70 years."

It seems to me that claims like these are merely further confirmation of how deeply frozen in the icy waters of the "cold war" some Western politicians are. The land of the Soviets has never "cut itself off" from the outside world. On the contrary, from Lenin's decree on peace, our idea of collective security, our participation in the anti-Hitler coalition, and our active involvement in the United Nations up to the present day, the Soviet Union has tried to broaden and strengthen international cooperation. It is another matter that during the period of the personality cult and the era of stagnation our foreign policy did not always use every available opportunity and political means for greater mutual understanding between peoples. But those times are behind us.

And, indeed, the cause of international cooperation will only gain if all our partners begin to cast aside their malevolence and become actively involved in the process of improving the international situation.

Radio Program on Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, U.S.
LD1712160388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 16 Dec 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Konstanin Patstyuk, with Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, chief editor of VOYENNYY ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL; Bulgarian correspondent Viktor Somalin; commentator Aleksandr Malikov; "colleague" Vladimir Pasko; commentator Andrey Ptashnikov; and foreign political commentator Nikolay Agayants]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Patsyuk] As always, there have been many letters in our mailbag about Afghanistan. But I should like to draw your attention to one: a letter from Ivan Maksimovich Kudrya, from the village of Razveke in Stavropol Kray. I must admit that in my opinion, his arguments sound like those which can sometimes be heard in a crowd of people. As we all know, Afghanistan has already cost us several thousand million rubles, Comrade Kudrya writes. And now the USSR intends to assign millions more to the postwar reconstruction of that country. Will this not have adverse consequences, in the sense that we are wearing ourselves down?

I have shown this letter to my colleague, commentator Aleksandr Malikov, and have asked him to give his opinion on the matter that Comrade Kudrya raises. And so, over to you, Aleksandr Nikolayevich:

[Malikov] I should say straight off that the letter and the phrasing of the question cut me to the quick. Perhaps particularly because the terrible misfortune in Armenia has switched our humaneness from the smooth rails of abstract compassion to a practical plane. I hope, esteemed Ivan Maximovich, that you saw on television the film of woollen blankets, dried fruit, and other essentials which, after having been sent from Kabul to our country due to their true charity—will warm people amid the ruins of the Armenian towns. How is it that a country with a poorly developed economy and which has been ravaged by civil war, a country which needs literally everything and which contains devastated towns and villages, nevertheless finds it possible to extend the hand of assistance? And there we are—wondering whether we can afford to help the Afghans!

I think you might just agree, Comrade Kudrya, that there is much in your letter that is not in place. No, we do not have millions of rubles to spare, particularly at the moment, when our economy—and indeed the whole country—is undergoing truly vast renovation work. That is true. But you write that we intend to allocate considerable funds to the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Consequently, we are not just talking about a noble gesture, but about something that could determine the life of the Afghans for many decades to come. One asks himself - can one really be callous and calculating in this? Can one really set about raising Afghanistan from the ruins of civil war from a mercenary standpoint?

Furthermore, if we want people to treat us with consideration and respect, then clearly we should do likewise. Incidentally, I should note that we have never been inclined to demand recompense for our humaneness. And we appeal to others to do the same. Just recall Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's proposals at the United Nations which were intended to ease the burden of the foreign debt of the Third World countries. I shall never forget the smiles and the great excitement among the delegates from the Latin American countries following the call to partially cancel the debts of those most heavily indebted.

As I see it, such understanding of the problems of other states is also an important aspect of the humanization of international relations. Humanism, humaneness, and charity—all these concepts from our everyday life are gradually coming to occupy a more noticeable place in the sphere of international relations. We see the way the world is beginning to view itself as a unified organism, in which pain in one limb is felt throughout the body. And so, it is right to feel that Afghanistan's pain is our pain, too. Being aware of this, we propose healing the Afghan wounds together, through the efforts of the whole world community. True, some are trying to distance themselves from this, hoping that supplies of arms will win them the sympathy of the Afghans. But both opposing sides are desperately tired of the fratricidal war, and the saying that an Afghan is born with a rifle in his hand is now clearly losing its meaning.

It is not for nothing that the idea put forward by President Najibullah on the demilitarization and reconstruction of the country has won over people even among some oppositionists.

Personally, I get the impression that, despite all its complexity, the development of the situation in Afghanistan is approaching a pass, beyond which a valley should, at long last, spread out, where not another drop of Afghan blood will ever again be spilled.

Is it not the humane thing to assist in reaching this pass as quickly as possible? Is this not prompted by a desire which has another, nonmonetary dimension to it?

[Patsyuk] A letter from Mariya Nikolayevna Sorokina, from the village of Krapivno in Tula Oblast, concerns Yugoslavia. Not so long ago Yugoslavia was held up for praise—a country that could organize its economy, where the shops were full of food. But now there is unemployment, inflation, a huge debt, multimillionaires galore, people leaving their native country. What are the reasons? Perhaps the system isn't working, Mariya Nikolayevna asks.

Why is Yugoslavia on the verge of collapse? What are the causes of this? Is Tito to blame? These are excerpts from a letter from Ivan Grigoryevich Barmin, another listener from the town of Kamyshin, in Volgorad Oblast.

I have passed your letters to Vladimir Pasko, a colleague of mine:

[Pasko] To be fair, I would like to note first of all that our press never held up the Yugoslav experience for praise. Rather, we kept quiet about it for many years. And in lectures the preference was to emphasize the negative aspects. It must surely have been hushed up because the Yugoslav choice of self-government, a planned market economy, and openness were different from our notions of socialism. Under the conditions of glasnost, we have started to speak about Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav experience as they are in actual fact.

I do not share Comrade Barmin's assessment of the situation in Yugoslavia. But the situation there really is far from simple. What is actually going on in the Yugoslav economy? The roots of the crisis which started to appear in the early 1980's are seen by the Yugoslavs themselves not in the selected principles of building socialism—everything was fine here for almost 30 years, they say—but rather in a deviation from those principles; in the deviation from the program adopted by the LCY in 1958.

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The two visits are separated by a timespan abounding with historical events and an amazing evolution of Soviet political thinking. For greater ease and clarity, this tremendous difference can be perceived in the political meaning of two outwardly consonant words which we gave to international usage then and now—troyka and perestroyka. Troyka has already been consigned to oblivion, to be found only in books on diplomatic history nowadays. But at that time, in the fall of 1960, it was on everybody's lips. Dissatisfied with the actions of then UN Secretary General D. Hammarskjold in the Congo peacekeeping operation, N.S. Khrushchev demanded that the division of the world into socialist, capitalist, and neutral (nonaligned) states be organizationally implemented in the structure of the UN executive organ, the secretariat, right up to the appointment of three secretaries general instead of one, according to its Charter. Hence—troyka. It reflected not only an insistence on the principle of equal representation and participation in the United Nations, where the Western powers were generally holding sway at the time, but also a broader strategic arrangement, an appraisal of the future. After the freeze of Stalin's last years, after the extreme bitterness of the "cold war," these were the Soviet Union's first appearances "in the open." It was assumed that the socialist system, having freed itself from "the consequences of the personality cult" and needing no restructuring, would triumphantly begin scoring points and that its political alliance with the nonaligned countries—which, of course, would also take the socialist path—would condemn the decaying camp of capitalism to an early and inevitable defeat. This was the reliance on confrontation (political rather than military!) that stood behind Khrushchev's UN troyka which, if the truth be told, was rather more like the swan, crab, and pike of fable fame, and which "got nowhere," lasting only a short while in the international vocabulary.

Troyka and perestroyka... This is the distance separating the old and the new thinking spawned by the lessons of history. Even though vast differences remain among the states belonging to the world community, Soviet policy now places emphasis on the communality of the world, stemming from an awareness of its common destiny. This emphasis has never been placed as powerfully and sharply as it was in M.S. Gorbachev's recent speech in the United Nations. Addressing the most representative of international audiences, the Soviet leader emphasized that now we are especially interested in **being correctly understood**: Our restructuring "encompasses colossal potential for peace and international cooperation."

This is not the potential of division, it is the potential of unification.

The theme with which we have become so familiar over the last 3 years sounded stronger than ever before in Gorbachev's UN speech:

"Today we have entered an epoch when the universal interest will underlie progress."

"Further world progress will be possible only through the quest for a universal consensus in the movement toward a new world order."

"...It is necessary to jointly seek a path **toward the supremacy of the universal idea** over the countless multiplicity of centrifugal forces...."

Could anyone have perceived December 1988 in the fall of 1960? And can anyone look 28 years ahead, into the year 2016? Since we lack the gift of foresight, let us turn back to that fall in New York in order to gain a deeper vision of moving history.

N.S. Khrushchev arrived in New York on board the ship "Baltika" to attend the 15th General Assembly session, and spoke from its rostrum on about a dozen occasions, and there can be no doubt that this was the most important event in the world at the time, especially since the leaders of Europe's socialist countries and a number of influential nonaligned states had responded to Moscow's call and flown to New York. Especially since, in a display of his temperament, rather coarse frankness, and simplistic propaganda approach toward international diplomacy, Khrushchev minced no words in laying down the law and deliberately turned the General Assembly hall into an arena of direct confrontation with the United States and, as he put it, "the other states of monopoly capital."

A real product of his harsh and somewhat arrogant time, Khrushchev scorned all good manners in true "proletarian fashion." History, which loves to register extraordinary events, recorded him banging his shoe on the desk in front of everybody in the General Assembly: There had been something he disliked in the Philippine delegate's speech. That was dubbed "shoe diplomacy" in the West, while we either maintained a confused silence or, on the contrary, tried to present this as a masterly move in a new style diplomacy: You see, it was said, how far one has to go at times for the sake of asserting a "class approach" and expressing scorn for the "puppets of American imperialism."

That, however, was nothing but a colorful incident which should not overshadow the substance. The drama of history can be perceived with hindsight. Khrushchev was certainly a "man of peace," he certainly expressed our people's peaceful aspirations, but his analysis of the situation, with its overtones of Stalinist dogmatism, lacked accuracy and exaggerated the other side's aggressiveness, while the means he chose antagonized the United States and the other Western powers and therefore rendered the peaceful goals more distant rather than bringing them closer. To use current terminology, it can be said that his approach (our approach!) toward interstate relations was ideologized to the utmost. While propagandizing the principles of peaceful coexistence, he never tired of repeating in various forms a thought which annoyed and embittered the Americans: "We will bury you." He recognized every people's right to choose a

different system, but at the same time declared: "The liquidation of the capitalist system is the fundamental issue of society's development." According to his design—which was, incidentally, diligently reproduced by many of our propaganda workers until very recently—the American people are good and peace-loving while the U.S. Administration is bad and aggressive and represents not the people but only the Wall Street big shots. I in no way wish to present a simplistic image of the opposite order and to idealize the complex mechanism of U.S. democracy in action, but this blunt—and incorrect—contradistinction between the government and the people infuriated the Americans. "Please, don't bite us, you are biting us," Khrushchev was told by TV commentator David Suskind. Khrushchev responded: "No, you are biting us. After all, the U-2 mission is your bite."

The episode of the U.S. high-altitude spy plane, which had been shot down near Sverdlovsk 1 May 1960, was at the center of the Soviet-U.S. argument at the time. Nowadays spy satellites in space are invulnerable and are essentially recognized as a fact of international life in a world saturated with nuclear weapons. But the episode involving the U-2 and its pilot who survived and was captured by us created a real crisis, provided an excuse for wrecking the four-power Paris summit conference (the USSR, the United States, France, and Britain) and for canceling President Eisenhower's official visit to the USSR, and ultimately took Khrushchev across the ocean, to the General Assembly session, in a state of righteous anger. Furthermore, another U.S. military aircraft, an RB-47, entered Soviet airspace in the Kola Peninsula region 1 July the same year—and was also shot down. Washington was pretty disconcerted, and President Eisenhower ceased spy flights, even though in principle he reserved the U.S. Administration's right to conduct intelligence-gathering operations against powers which kept their military activity a secret.

That was how events developed—with a lot of noise, like in a thriller or even a farce, creating an impression of artificially generated yet at the same time genuine tension.

Apart from all else, 1960 went down in history as the year of Africa's liberation. Independent states were proclaimed there one after another in place of the former colonies. The Soviet Union ardently acclaimed this process. Not without instigation by yesterday's masters, internecine struggle broke out in the newly independent Belgian Congo, Prime Minister Lumumba was assassinated by separatists, the UN peacekeeping forces sent there were, in Moscow's assessment, furthering imperialism's designs, while Khrushchev wanted to kick out of the United Nations its Secretary General Hammarskjold, a Swedish aristocrat and mystic who died in an air crash in the Congo that same year and whom Khrushchev had branded "a lackey of U.S. monopoly capital." Everything got mixed up during those days of Khrushchev's "Sturm und Drang" in New York: the historically important Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and personal attacks on the top UN official, which in no way strengthened our positions. All this has yet to be covered in detail by our historical literature, which itself needs reinterpretation and restructuring.

N.S. Khrushchev's speeches and interviews in the United Nations fill 300 pages in volume II of his foreign policy statements for 1960. They make rather instructive reading. The aged documents bear the expressive stamp of time. Read them—if for no other reason than to see for yourselves where and how far we have progressed today. I believe that the Soviet leader overplayed the episodes of the two aircraft—and even though within our own country and in terms of the mass awareness of America at the time this might have been justifiable in the propaganda sense, overplaying it meant losing in the West, among the broad public—let alone the political circles there.

Khrushchev knew little about the United States and "the other states of monopoly capital"—a shortcoming of, alas, many Soviet figures. He had little understanding of them and was not all that willing to gain a better understanding. He hated "capitalism" with all the "theoretical" and practical ardor dating back to his youth as a miner, even though at the level of direct contact, when meeting individual "representatives" of this capitalism, be it President Eisenhower or some journalist, he usually restrained himself, avoided the insulting tone, and actually, despite his coarseness, demonstrated humaneness, geniality, and sympathy. He thus showed signs of something that was totally absent from our political vocabulary at the time and is now emblazoned in huge letters on the banner of the new thinking—**universality**. Or, to put it another way, something normally human, simply human, something humane. That which, like birthmarks of the past, was for decades eliminated from our people by the worst ideologists and practitioners of Stalinism. That normal human feeling which now dictates to us to accept without any hesitation foreign aid to the victims of the earthquake in Armenia, aid which we would have rejected earlier equally without hesitation—we see British firefighters and French and U.S. rescue teams with their specially trained dogs in our country, just 2-3 days after the event, and we hardly suspect them of being agents of the CIA, the "intelligence service," or... what's the name of French intelligence?

Ignorance is a demonic force, Marx wrote, which makes no allowances even for Marxists. The demonic force multiplies by allying itself with a dogmatism for which the laws of development are part and parcel of eternally immutable truths which suit lazy minds or people fired by careerist desires. An ideologized world outlook is suitable only when it does not distort the true picture of the world. It was this, this true picture, that Khrushchev and his entourage lacked. They underestimated the viability and the colossal operating life of capitalism, and primarily of U.S. capitalism, and failed to foresee that

the private-enterprise system would be the first to saddle the electronic horse of the scientific and technical revolution. They exaggerated the West's aggressiveness. Khrushchev assured the former colonies that, within the lifetime of a single generation, they would be able to join the ranks of the economically advanced countries—failing, of course, to foresee the current problem of catastrophic external debt which, together with the quest for ways out of it, was the topic of Gorbachev's UN discourse.

To what are these blatant miscalculations to be attributed? To ignorance of many basic facts, incomprehension of development trends, and the blind and, one might say, religious faith in distorted dogmatic Marxism which, like any other religion, contains a certain reliance on miracles. After all, Khrushchev did promise at the time that our generation would be living under communism. Add to this the belief in the decline of the West which, from his perspective, we had long beforehand overtaken in democratic terms and were just about to overtake economically, add to it the hope that the socialist system's forces would double in a firm political alliance with the world of nonaligned states, and you obtain the unambiguously advantageous and broad background against which, in the Soviet leadership's belief, the Soviet Union's dialogue with the West was then taking place.

Yes, Khrushchev was sincerely in favor of peaceful coexistence, proving this by his behavior later on, in October 1962, in the dramatic days of the "Caribbean missile crisis." Having secretly delivered missiles to Cuba at the time, he later agreed openly, under U.S. pressure, to remove them; he accepted humiliation in order to avoid a nuclear conflict. Yes, he wanted peace but, because of the aforementioned world philosophy, because of the deceptively bright prospect of our fast and growing superiority over the other side, his inclination toward dialogue, toward the West, was not—to put it mildly—all-consuming. (In my remarks I have hardly mentioned the policy and stance of the other side, but that side also did not lean toward dialogue as much as it does today, not yet having experienced the moral and political trials of the subsequent decades and not yet having piled up the pointless mountains of nuclear missile arms.)

The means of Soviet foreign policy, its diplomatic arsenal, and the level of understanding of and consideration for the Western powers' legitimate interests did not accord with the proclaimed peace objectives. It must be admitted: There were more "PR exercises" than scrupulous and painstaking quests for a real framework of compromise. It was at the 15th UN General Assembly session that N.S. Khrushchev submitted the basic provisions of the Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament. The treaty involved the most radical farewell to arms—from the destruction of nuclear arsenals to the abolition of military schools. But the implementation of all this was assumed to take only 4 years—a clearly unrealistic schedule. Even though "another agreed schedule" was not ruled out, the Soviet leader repeatedly ridiculed British Prime Minister Macmillan, who was looking at 5-10 years of talks to reach agreement. Now, almost 30 years later, we can see how wrong they both were. The proposals about a verification mechanism were extremely vague, which can also be seen with the benefit of hindsight and in the light of the radical experience provided by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The objective was most noble but, like any other objective, it cannot be appraised in isolation from the means suggested for its attainment. It was proposed that the draft Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament be discussed at the UN General Assembly, and this alone reduced the work on it to the level of an international propaganda measure. Now, following the countless rounds in Geneva, we realize that discussions are not to be conducted in this way and work is not to be done in this fashion. But at that time they failed to overcome even this simplest of stumbling blocks: Where should discussion take place, in the General Assembly or in the Political Committee, as the Western powers insisted? Once more, victory was won not by common sense but by triumphant misunderstanding. Yet again, and by no means for the last time.

...Some 3 weeks or so remained until the 1960 U.S. presidential elections by the time Khrushchev left New York—and, incidentally, his speeches were read in the context of the election campaign. The aging General Eisenhower, preparing to leave the White House, delivered his famous warning about the dangerous and growing influence of the "military-industrial complex." But the young and charismatic John Kennedy played on the "missile gap" between the United States and the USSR, also taking advantage of Khrushchev's graphic description of a Soviet plant where missiles rolled "like sausages" off the conveyor belt. Kennedy's claim was false, but it helped him defeat Nixon and become president. He unfolded a colossal program to build thousands of Minuteman ICBM's. In the fall of 1962, under U.S. pressure, the Soviet Union withdrew the missiles from Cuba, but the Soviet leaders and military drew practical conclusions from America's clear nuclear missile superiority (according to McNamara, U.S. secretary of defense at the time, they had 30 times more nuclear warheads than we did). When Khrushchev was ousted 2 years later, our military were, judging by everything, given carte blanche.

Soviet scientists still have to write the history of our foreign and military policy in the last few decades, a history which should be dominated not by an apologetic but by a seriously analytical approach and an extremely essential critical element. As long as documents remain secret you can only guess (even though with a high degree of probability) how matters progressed and how the

Soviet-U.S. confrontation developed dynamically, propelled by the principle of action and reaction. While the Americans were fighting in Vietnam, we were rectifying our nuclear missile gap. Military-strategic parity had emerged by the beginning of the seventies, the important SALT and ABM Treaties were concluded during the "first detente" years, but new types of missiles continued to roll off the conveyor belts "like sausages," and the ponderous inertia of military building proved not so easy to halt—it was influenced by the notorious "gross output" mentality and the penetrating force of departmentalism, which was a major distinguishing feature of the time of Brezhnev and stagnation. There were also other factors. Neoconservatives were consolidating their positions in the United States, reckoning that the buildup of Soviet arms also meant the buildup of the Soviet threat, and this helped Ronald Reagan to come to power in 1980. Everybody recalls that the last round was the fiercest. Never before had the apocalypse been mentioned so frequently. Reagan raised the stakes to $2 trillion—the total amount of military budgets during his presidency. The insanity of the arms race reached its apogee.

And suddenly the dawn of a new epoch was upon us. The change of leadership in the Soviet Union brought along a qualitatively new level of awareness of the realities of the world—"of a different world," as Gorbachev put it in New York. I do not intend to remind people of things that are not forgotten, things that belong to the present. Neither immediately nor easily, through Geneva and Reykjavik, the moment of understanding was reached. The moment of truth, as it was said in Geneva 3 years ago. Finally, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles 1 year ago effected the real breakthrough. It opened the gate for goodwill, elements of trust, civilized dialogue, and those personal contacts which have become **the norm** and thanks to which the principle of continuity was so naturally agreed upon with George Bush.

In other words, instead of the negative mechanism of action and reaction, the mechanism of collaboration has been set in motion through efforts by both sides. It promises neither miracles nor easily attainable results, but there is a great degree of agreement as to where to go and how—as regards both ends and means.

One more point which is absolutely necessary for our digression into history. In 1960, by a decision of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Union unilaterally announced a reduction in its Armed Forces of 1.2 million men. This decision was emphasized in Khrushchev's UN speeches. We reduced the number of our servicemen by one-third. Now we have a new unilateral step—a reduction in our Armed Forces of 500,000 men, representing approximately one-tenth of their strength (according to Western estimates; our own data are yet to be published). A direct comparison appears somewhat "adverse," but it is necessary because correct conclusions can be drawn only from objective facts. It shows, in particular, how intensively the world's life and our own life have developed along the line of militarization. There is a shortage of official explanations here too, but it is obvious that the Armed Forces grew during the periods of real but at the same time overexaggerated tension in Soviet-Chinese relations during the sixties and seventies. The effect of the action-reaction principle could also be felt to the utmost on both sides of the dividing line in Europe. (Such as the growth of the Bundeswehr's might, for example.) Let us again add to it our Soviet departmental "gross output" mentality unrestrained by a strong and perspicacious political leadership.

The 500,000-man reduction and the announced measures for the withdrawal of a part of our troops from Mongolia and East Europe are an admission that we have "overdone it" in terms of military building. This is weighty evidence that restructuring does indeed contain "a colossal potential for peace and international cooperation." Moreover, it is evidence in that selfsame sphere where we are most often and most persistently asked to provide it, both by the West and even by the East. The new steps will help to create a favorable atmosphere at the forthcoming truly historic talks on conventional arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. The talks will not be easy, NATO continues to proceed from the Warsaw Pact's superiority—but they can and must succeed, and their success will spur the work on creating a "common European home" and the entire process of the restructuring of international relations.

There is no doubt that we have taken the correct path. What is needed is even more boldness in practical initiatives like the ones announced from the UN rostrum; such boldness is the sister of perspicacity and wisdom. We must be even more open, especially in spheres where secrecy from our own people and from the surrounding world, elevated to the status of a stupid absolute, has been practiced for decades; openness pays for itself both politically and materially, in the form of the resources released when military expenditure is cut back.

Some 28 years ago it would have been impossible to utter last week's words about tolerance, about readiness to accept different views without necessarily deeming them bad or hostile, about the ability to learn to live with one another while remaining different and not agreeing with one another in everything. We have abandoned the stupid dogma of infallibility. We are beginning to understand others, and we also want to be understood in the new epoch of restructuring: This will provide important guarantees for its success. People are beginning to understand us. More and more.

United States & Canada

Bush Details Outlook on U.S.-Soviet Relations

LD1712134688 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 17 TASS—U.S. President-elect George Bush held a news conference here on Friday [16 December], at which he touched upon Soviet-American relation. Asked about the possibility of a Soviet-American summit in 1989, he said: "There is no expectation that we will or won't. I mean, it just simply has not been discussed."

"Summits don't necessarily just relate to arms control. We have regional problems. We have human rights problems. We have a wide array of questions to discuss with the Soviets," Bush went on to say.

Bush said that following the NATO consultations, the new U.S. secretary of state should establish "the same kind of rapport" with the Soviet side as the Reagan administration. "And then, out of that process, make a determination as to when a summit should be held."

"I don't want to send out a signal that looks—that signals recalcitrance or unwillingness to think anew, or unwillingness to try to build on what clearly has been progress in the relationship. But I don't want to send out the other signal, which is one of being—acting hastily, or feeling compelled to act very quickly before we have formulated our plans. And I honestly believe, from a conversation I had with General Secretary Gorbachev, that they do understand that. But, it's interesting, because there's a lot of hope now, a lot of anticipation. We don't want to dash the hopes, but I don't want to raise them to unrealistic heights," Bush said.

U.S. Launching of Titan-4 in 1989 Viewed

PM1612132588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

["Own Information"-TASS report: "Forthcoming Launch"]

[Text] The launching in early 1989 of the Titan-4 booster rocket will be a "turning point" in U.S. efforts to use space for military purposes, the WALL STREET JOURNAL writes. This launch, the newspaper notes, for which active preparation is now under way, will give the military even greater control over U.S. space programs.

The Pentagon's plans assign the Titan-4 missile no less importance than reusable space shuttles. It is intended to put into polar orbit various space projects and primarily spy satellites which will make it possible to ensure the permanent observation of the USSR's territory. The U.S. military department has already placed orders for the production of 23 rockets of this type.

China

PRC Foreign Minister on Developing Soviet Ties

LD1612150188 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 16 TASS—The development of Soviet-Chinese relations has become one the most important events this year. This is the opinion of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in an article published in the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO on Friday [16 December].

Analysing the 1988 international scene, the foreign minister says that due to mutual efforts Soviet-Chinese relations have been gradually improving during the last few years. As the international situation changed, a gradual normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations began.

Serious preparations are necessary before a Soviet-Chinese summit, says Qichen. His recent visit to the U.S.S.R. and the forthcoming reciprocal visit of the Soviet foreign minister to China are practical elements of this preparatory work.

A normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence will serve peace in Asia and the world, says Qichen.

PRC Support for Soviet Troop-Cut Plan Noted

OW1912021088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin0600 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] I think that this station's listeners have already learned from reports carried by Chinese newspapers that China supports the peace proposal of Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev, which he made in his speech at the United Nations last week. In this connection, RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee, carried an article that says China welcomes the Soviet Union's withdrawal of part of its troops from East Europe and Mongolia.

I wish to point out that the Soviet Union's unilateral decision to greatly reduce arms and troops in the coming 2 years has attracted much attention from both Eastern and Western countries. The encouraging thing is that military and political leaders of NATO no longer consider the Soviet Union's peace proposal to be nothing but propaganda. Statesmen who consider problems in a realistic manner and impartial observers in the United States, its allies, and some Asian countries are all convinced that the recent Soviet peace proposals are positive signs of its world policy and international relations.

The Japanese paper MAINICHI SHIMBUN said: We understand the important meaning of the new proposal and welcome the proposal. Rau, deputy chairman of the

Social Democratic Party and member of the West German parliament, said: The Soviet Union's unilateral decision to greatly reduce troops and conventional weapons is of historical significance. Newspapers in various countries all noted the fact that the Soviet Union has voluntarily decided to significantly reduce its arms and troops in the European and Asian regions. Many observers have thus raised the point that other military powers must take similar positive steps.

In our interdependent world, taking positive steps to reduce troops and measures to lessen military confrontation should be the only way. At a news conference in the capital, the West German Social Democratic Party's chief disarmament expert, Bahr, said: Now it is the West's turn. The West should take action and prepare for troop reductions.

Dear listeners, in concluding my discussion of this question, I wish to call your attention to an important commentary carried by XINHUA News Agency. The writer of the commentary pointed out: The Soviet Union's defensive strategy has been gradually divorced from arms competition. It can conserve manpower and materials and use them in fulfilling the Soviet Union's reform program. I think we all know that all countries, regardless of their social system, all hope to divorce themselves from arms competition and to use their resources to satisfy the needs of social programs.

Tolstykh on USSR Science Exhibition in Beijing

OW1712010888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet Union's scientific-technological exhibition in Beijing has strengthened and expanded the foundation of Soviet-Chinese cooperation, which is exactly the purpose of the exhibition. This is what Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, told this station's reporter.

He led the Soviet Government delegation attending the Soviet Union Day celebrations held in China. Tolstykh believed that the meaning of the event lies in the fact that it reflects the similarity of the problems that the Soviet Union and China have and also the similar attitude that the two nations adopt toward these problems. He believed that our two nations have a lot of experiences to exchange—that is, experiences in improving the economic mechanism and scientific management, raising funds for scientific and technological research, and stimulating scientific and technological development.

Tolstykh also claimed that the Chinese were interested in buying some 80 pieces of equipment on display at the Soviet Union's scientific-technological exhibition.

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Departs on Visit to Japan

Leaves Moscow 17 Dec

LD1712184788 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today left Moscow for Japan. He will also visit the Philippines and People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

At the airport he was seen off by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, other officials.

Arrives in Japan

LD1812044588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0424 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, 18 Dec (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

At Haneda Airport he was met by Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, and other officials. Among those meeting him were Nikolay Solovyev, USSR ambassador to Japan, and Toshiaki Muto, Japanese ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Makes Arrival Statement

LD1812073688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0649 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 18 Dec (TASS)—[passage omitted] Upon his arrival in Japan, E.A. Shevardnadze made the following statement:

Our visit to Japan is the third at the ministerial level in the cycle of Soviet-Japanese dialogue which began in January 1986. At that time, we agreed that high-level contacts would maintain a regular character.

This agreement is, in principle, being fulfilled. Moreover, we can state that our discussions are becoming multifaceted and intensive.

M.S. Gorbachev, referring to his meetings and correspondence with eminent Japanese political figures, said in Krasnoyarsk that he hopes the new atmosphere "will allow Soviet-Japanese relations to be put in the channel of normal development."

We believe the upcoming talks will mark movement in that direction. I have gained the impression that the Japanese side would like this, too.

World politics has perhaps never before been so constructive and dynamic, so clearly oriented toward quests for universal concord and the development of international cooperation.

It seems to me that, considering the position of our countries and their importance and role in international affairs, the political dialogue and degree of mutual understanding between Japan and the Soviet Union are lagging somewhat behind the general tendency. There are, of course, objective reasons for that; nonetheless, there are many circumstances which might be eased, or eliminated altogether.

I think our primary task is to look at what can be done here and how.

Naturally, I attach great significance to the establishment of personal contacts with my counterpart Mr Uno. I am glad I will have an opportunity to meet with Japan's Prime Minister Takeshita.

In these first moments here on Japanese soil, I cannot fail to express on behalf of the Soviet people, the leadership of the country, and myself and the comrades who have arrived with me, deep gratitude to the people and Government of Japan for their sympathy in connection with the misfortune which has afflicted Soviet Armenia and for the help given.

I take this chance, likewise, to convey to the inhabitants of Tokyo and to all citizens of the surrounding country wishes of peace, happiness, and prosperity.

Opens Talks With Counterpart

LD1912023088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0218 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, 19 Dec (TASS)—Talks began here today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Sosuke Uno, Japanese foreign minister. They are discussing topical international problems and questions of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Eduard Shevardnadze visited the Imperial Palace this morning and signed the get-well book for Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

Japanese Parliamentarian on Shevardnadze Visit

LD1812100888 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 18 TASS—In Japan they await with keen interest the beginning of Japanese-Soviet consultations at the foreign minister level, said Eitaro Itoyama, a deputy of the Japanese parliament from the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the lower chamber of parliament.

This is a major event in Japan's political calender. Most various quarters in Japan pin hopes on the consultations to give a fresh impetus to the development of a constructive dialogue between the Soviet Union and Japan, which would meet their interests and also the interests of other states in the region, he said in an interview with TASS correspondent Valeriy Agarkov.

Welcoming the arrival in Tokyo of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, the Japanese parliamentarian underscored the importance of the negotiations opening on Monday between Shevardnadze and Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno.

Representatives of the governments of our neighbouring countries should discuss more frequently both issues of bilateral relations and global international problems at the negotiating table. Regular contacts at various levels would make it possible to identify problems which call for urgent consideration, and continue the joint quest for ways to settle them with account of mutual interests.

The international political climate at the present stage of mankind's history is characterised by the emergence of favourable tendenices for scaling down the arms race, for easing tensions.

This becomes possible thanks to the efforts of both the United States and the USSR. The leaders of these powers signed the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missles, discuss issues of reducing strategic offensive armaments. Japanese react positively to these tendencies.

The speech of Mikhil Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Comittee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the United Nations, in which he advanced new peace initiatives, drew wide response in our country. The Soviet leader's speech reffirmed the USSR's readiness to act in handling complex issues relying on the policy of new thinking. This is exemplified by the plans to reduce the strength of the USSR Armed Forces by 500,000 men, which was announced by Gorbachev, Eitaro Itoyama went on. It is a specific and convincing step toward detente, a graphic proof of the USSR's peaceful aspirations.

Hopeful signs appear that the situation in the Asia-Pacific region is improving. This is facilitated, in part, by the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. A further development of the Soviet-Japanese dialogue could also make a tangible contribution to the cause of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, the deputy said in conclusion.

Commentary Views Shevardnadze Visit to Japan
OW1812081488 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is scheduled to make an official visit to Japan from 19 to 21 December. Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev notes the following in this regard:

The results of this visit will only become known clearly after the foreign minister's meetings with Foreign Minister Uno, Prime Minister Takeshita, former Prime Minister Nakasone, and Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Abe. But even at this point it can be said without a doubt that the people of both countries expect improved relations between the Soviet Union and Japan as the outcome.

According to opinion polls conducted jointly by TASS and KYODO last spring, 84.2 percent of the Japanese and 98.9 percent of the Russians polled desire improved relations. However, no progress has actually been made over the last several years in turning a page in the history of Soviet-Japanese relations and overcoming the prolonged impasse that has existed. This situation can be perceived more clearly if one takes note of the improvement the Soviet Union has made in its relations with Japan's major ally, the United States, as well as with other Western nations.

Relations between the Soviet Union and China are now nearing complete normalization. In this regard, SANKEI SHIMBUN recently warned that a situation in which Japan is the only nation left out of the detente process should be avoided. This apparently indicates that the need for a change is recognized in Japan as much as it is in the Soviet Union.

A great deal is expected from Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan, the first such event in 3 years. The Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers will discuss cultural exchange plans being prepared under the cultural cooperation agreement signed between the two countries. Plans and diplomatic papers are also due to be exchanged during the talks.

In addition to this, there has been an agreement to expand scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and Japan. The expansion of mutual cooperation in various fields should only be natural between neighboring countries—particularly today, when the world is becoming more mutually dependent.

The expansion of Soviet economic exchanges overseas brought about by the restructuring process is also a result of the realization of the need for mutual dependence. For example, a recent Soviet Council of Ministers decree seeks to give major privileges to joint ventures in the Far East. Generally speaking, it can be said that relations between the Soviet Union and Japan have recently been moving toward the better. But there is no assurance that this trend of improvement will not retrogress. Nor is there a guarantee that the relations between the two countries can be protected from a new threat. This is no wonder when one considers the rigid position of the Japanese Government, which has been insisting that there cannot be a fundamental change in Japanese-Soviet relations as long as the four islands of the Kurils are not handed over to Japan.

During a meeting with Japanese Ambassador to Moscow Moto recently, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze expressed willingness to talk with the Japanese side about the territorial question. This is a step forward based on new thinking. However, it is not expected that this will make things easy for Japan. So far Japan has met with rejection for talks from the Soviet side; but now it will have to fight justifications founded on a sound basis. Can the Japanese Government deal with the Soviet stand in an objective manner? Is it willing to review the positions of the Soviet side and to accept them on the basis of the principle of justice?

The Japanese Government is called upon to understand the interests of a partner. Without this, true dialogue is impossible. The basic position of the Soviet Union is that international relations must be built on a balance of interests. This was pointed out by Gorbachev in his speech to the United Nations. General Secretary Gorbachev also had made a note of this fact when remarking on Soviet-Japanese relations in his Krasnoyarsk speech.

Addressing the United Nations on 7 December, General Secretary Gorbachev called on Japan to participate aggressively in dialogue in order to ensure a normal and constructive international process. In so doing, he actually admitted the expanding role of Japan in world politics. Have the last two Japanese Governments not had this expanding role as an objective of their foreign policies? However, the design for this objective cannot be carried out unless the Japanese Government can improve its own policies and thus improve relations with the Soviet Union. In this respect, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan presents a great possibility this time.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burmese Visit by Thailand's Chawalit Noted
BK1612131688 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Radio Moscow observer's commentary]

[Text] Representatives of the Burmese military government and a Thai delegation led by General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, acting supreme commander of the Thai Armed Forces, have met in Rangoon. According to a

spokesman of the Thai Supreme Command, Gen Chawalit visited Burma in his capacity as chairman of the joint Burma-Thai border committee.

It has been learned that topics at the talks included the situation along the common border and the antidrug campaign.

One point which attracted journalists' attention on the Thai delegation's visit was the issue of representation. Many foreign newspapers in their commentaries have implied either directly or indirectly that the delegation's visit to Burma amounts to recognition of the Burmese military government by the Thai authorities, and they say that this action by Bangkok runs counter to the cause of democracy in Burma. It would not be appropriate to present the matter this way because, as was pointed out by Thai military spokesman Narudon Detpradiyut on the eve of the visit, they were not talking about the recognition of a regime in Burma, but rather continuing friendly relations between Thailand and a neighboring country. Burma is recognized as a friendly country with which Thailand has never disrupted its diplomatic relations, and there is no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Burma.

Thailand and Burma constantly strive for good-neighborly relations. This recent step by the Thai leaders is in accordance with the normal practices of international relations. Despite differences in views between the two countries, it is normal for them to strive to develop their bilateral relations on all fronts. The relations cannot be viewed in a limited framework of support and encouragement or denunciation of one government by another government. The practice of continuing relations differs from the practice of applying pressure on another government either through economic sanctions or a blockade. In deciding whether or not to give economic assistance to the Burmese, some countries betray such intentions. In other words, it amounts to interference in their internal affairs, and many problems arise from such a situation.

Representatives of countries which have given assistance to Burma are saying that they will resume relations with Burma only after free and fair democratic, multiparty elections are held as promised. One cannot argue against the need to hold honest and genuinely democratic elections; indeed, this is being demanded by the entire Burmese people. However, can such a goal be achieved by means of the course being pursued by the Western countries and Japan? A review of their stand indicates that they believe the faster the country faces economic difficulties the better it will be for the development of democracy in Burma. It is difficult to agree with such logic. Deteriorating economic conditions cannot establish political parties and speed up the implementation of the tasks at hand. The current Burmese Government recognizes this point.

During his meeting with the journalists accompanying Gen Chawalit, Gen Saw Maung said that the situation must be stable for the elections to be held, and that transport and communications are necessary to ensure food, clothing, and shelter for the Burmese people.

Political developments in many countries of the world have shown that as economic conditions deteriorate, so do social and political tensions worsen while antagonism and confrontation are exacerbated. Such developments include armed struggle. If the political situation in Burma worsens, Thailand could be adversely affected. The Thai (?people) would appear to be concerned about this.

Bangkok will not agree to allow the kind of confrontation that festers along its eastern border to develop on the western border. That is why Gen Chawalit said in Rangoon said they were concerned about the presence of Burmese students in the border region and that they would try their best to explain to them that the democracy they desire can only be achieved through peaceful means. Is this possible?

The Burmese military government has set 31 December as the deadline for students to return home after which time they will be regarded as insurgents. It was learned during the Thai delegation's visit to Burma that the Burmese military government has taken a step on those regarded as insurgents. Gen Saw Maung, the leader of the military government, spoke of a general amnesty for armed ethnic groups. The offer is to participate in the peaceful political process after their surrender. It was proposed that those responding to this move could participate in the reestablishment of the administration and the handover of power from the current caretaker government to the multiparty system to be brought about by the general elections.

The Moscow radio observer believes that the current government is showing signs of taking a step toward national accord. Furthermore, it is more than sheer coincidence that this disclosure was made during the visit of a foreign delegation which came to Rangoon despite opposition and pressure.

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Statement Issued on Mideast

PM1812190988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

["USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"]

[Text] In recent days the Soviet Union was gratified to note a number of important developments which have a direct bearing on the problem of achieving a just peace in the Middle East.

In the development of the well-known decisions of the Palestine National Council session which was held in Algiers last month, the Palestinian leadership in the person of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Executive Committee, reaffirmed the Palestinians' readiness to participate constructively in resolving the Middle East conflict.

In his statements during the U.N. General Assembly session in Geneva, the Palestinian leader gave reasons for the Algiers decisions on the right of Israel, just as that of the Palestinian state, to exist in peace and security, called for talks with Israel within the framework of an international conference under the provisions of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council, and again firmly rejected terrorism in all its forms.

The attitude taken by the PLO leadership is being regarded in the Soviet Union as the reflection of the Palestinian people's genuine striving to put an end to nearly the most protracted and dangerous regional conflict and to agree on the ensurance of equal opportunities for freedom and national independence of all states of the Middle East under conditions of a lasting peace.

An important positive step was also made by the U.S. side. On 14 December President Ronald Reagan stated readiness for a dialogue between U.S. and PLO representatives within the framework of the peace process. The U.S. Administration's decision proceeds from the recognition, at last, of the long-standing reality.

A substantially new situation is taking shape. It opens up the possibility of a real breakthrough in the cause of settling the Middle East conflict and convening, with this end in view, an international Middle East peace conference. The Arab countries involved in the conflict and the PLO are ready for this.

Practically the entire international community, including the UN Security Council member states, and its permanent members, are in favour of convening such a conference. The Soviet Union is known to have always been an active advocate of this idea.

The new situation opens up the possibility for Israel to reassess its stand and, upon abandoning the old stereotypes, to take the road of a joint search for constructive solutions.

The prospect of peace, tranquility, justice, renunciation of attempts to resolve the conflict by force, and of transition to peaceful construction and cooperation is now closer to the Middle East peoples than ever before. It can be realized only through joint, genuine efforts.

With this end in view the Soviet Union will continue to do everything required of it, and is calling on all other countries to support the process of the quickening progress toward this goal.

PRAVDA on 'Arafat's Geneva News Conference

PM1612163988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Unnamed special correspondent dispatch: "Step Toward a Settlement"]

[Text] Geneva, 15 Dec—Yesterday evening Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, held a news conference here in the Palais des Nations.

Our desire for peace, he stated, is not a tactical maneuver, it is our strategy. Our statehood signifies survival for the Palestinians, not a threat to Israel's existence. It signifies peace for the Palestinians and for Israel. In my speech at the UN General Assembly here in Geneva, the Palestinian leader continued, I mentioned UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as a basis for talks with Israel within the framework of an international conference on the Near East. This position was approved at the Palestine National Council [PNC] session in Algiers. We advocate the right of every people to freedom and national independence, and we also acknowledge the right of all participants in the Near East conflict to existence and security—including the Palestinian state, the State of Israel, and other neighbors, as provided for by resolutions 242 and 338.

We completely exclude and absolutely deny all forms of terrorism—individual, group, or state—Y. 'Arafat stated. We have made our position crystal clear between Geneva and Algiers. That is why there is no need to say that Palestinians are engaged in a propaganda exercise. That won't do any good. Enough! All questions must now be resolved at an international conference. Let it become clear to everyone that neither 'Arafat nor anyone else will be able to stop the "intifadah" (the Palestinians' uprising on the Israeli-occupied territories). It will only end when our national goals are implemented and when our independent national state is created.

In response to a question from your correspondent, Y. 'Arafat said: "We value highly the support that the Soviet Union has and is offering us. The USSR has acknowledged our right to self-determination and our right to the creation of an independent Palestinian state. In his UN speech Comrade Gorbachev, whom I thank for this, mentioned the Palestinian problem in precisely that context. I will take this opportunity to say that I have sent M.S. Gorbachev a personal letter in which I expressed my condolences to him and the entire Soviet people in connection with the tragedy that has befallen Armenia as a result of the earthquake."

The news conference has ended. So, too, has the UN General Assembly's discussion in Geneva of the 37th item on the agenda—"the Palestine question." By an overwhelming majority a resolution was adopted today containing a demand to convene an international conference for a Near East peace settlement under UN

auspices, involving all interested parties on an equal basis, including the PLO as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Today V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, held a news conference at the Palais des Nations. He assessed as a reasonable action [razumnaya aktsiya] the U.S. State Department's statement regarding its readiness to begin dialogue with the PLO. What is needed are systematic and concentrated efforts ensuring a genuine breakthrough to an all-embracing and just settlement in the Near East.

Uzbek Party Delegation Meets Jordanian Leaders

Talks With Prime Minister

LD1712112488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1713 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Amman, 16 Dec (TASS)—Jordanian Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i today received a USSR parliamentary group delegation led by Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, which is here on a visit.

During the meeting the head of the Jordanian Government noted that relations are successfully developing between Jordan and the Soviet Union in various spheres. He stressed the coincidence of the two countries' positions on key international problems and their joint approach toward the question of a Near East settlement. On behalf of the Jordanian leadership Z. al-Rifa'i expressed support for the ideas directed at a radical improvement of the global situation which were submitted by M.S.Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in his speech at the United Nations. The speech, he said, gave a comprehensive analysis of international problems and defined the landmarks for their solution.

The participants in the meeting expressed a joint view on the need for intensified efforts in halting the Arab-Israeli conflict and convening an international conference on the Near East. They noted that the realistic and flexible position adopted by the PLO has provided fresh opportunities for achieving a Near East settlement.

Those taking part in the conversation included Ahmad Karim al-Lawzi, president of the Jordanian Senate, members of the Soviet delegation, and A.I. Zinchuk, USSR ambassador to Jordan.

Received by King Husayn

LD1712204188 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Amman December 17 TASS—King Husayn of Jordan today received a USSR parliamentary group delegation led by Rafik Nishanov, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) and first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee.

During the conversation the head of the Jordanian state spoke with warm feelings of friendly relations between the two countries. He emphasized that a wide positive experience had been accumulated in these relations over the years of their development and opened up fresh prospects for further versatile Jordanian-Soviet cooperation.

He specially pointed out that his meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in December last year had been of momentous importance, since important accords during it in the field of broadening bilateral cooperation had been reached during it, and mutual understanding on political issues had grown stronger.

Touching upon the processes taking place in the present-day world, King Husayn specially singled out the Soviet Union's role in consolidating the positive trends in the international arena. Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the session of the U.N. General Assembly, the king said, will have a profound and beneficial impact on further development of the international situation as a whole.

The participants in the meeting were gratified to state the emergence of reassuring moments in the Middle East situation. They pointed out that realism shown by the PLO leadership promoted a qualitative change of the situation towards resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict and towards preparing the convocation of an international conference.

The two sides emphasized that a unique opportunity was emerging for practical actions in the near future in favour of a just Middle East settlement. Within this context an opinion was expressed about the need for adequate steps on the part of Israel towards a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

There was also an exchange of views on other topical matters concerning the international situation.

Taking part in the conversation were ahmad Karim al-Lawzi, president of the Senate, Marwan al-Kasim, chief of Royal Court, 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, minister to the Royal Court, Tahir al-Masri, minister of foreign affairs, Zayd Ben Shakir, commander-in-chief of the Jordanian Armed Forces, as well as Aleksandr Zinchuk, the ambassador of the USSR to Jordan.

Afghanistan's Wakil Welcomes UN Initiative

PM1712192388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil by special correspondent Yevgeniy Bay in Kabul: "The Goal Is a Political Settlement"; date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Kabul—The proposals for a political settlement of the Afghan conflict put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session continue to be

actively discussed in Afghanistan. In this connection 'Abdul Wakil, Afghan foreign minister, gave an interview to IZVESTIYA's special correspondent.

[Wakil] In his UN speech, the Soviet leader touched on topical problems such as disarmament, the transformation of disarmament into an irreversible process in the interests of preserving peace and strengthening international security, and the democratization of international relations, the minister said.

Speaking about the solution of regional disputes and conflicts, M.S. Gorbachev put forward a number of proposals on a political settlement of the Afghan question. These proposals are in full accord with the policy of the Republic of Afghanistan, the course of achieving national reconciliation, and our government's initiatives aimed at ensuring peace and ending the bloodshed.

It is well known that in addition to the dialogue offered to the opposition, the Republic of Afghanistan Government has undertaken a number of other practical steps. In particular, soon after the announcement of the policy of national reconciliation, a unilateral cease-fire was announced. Unfortunately the opposition has continued to wage war and is constantly increasing the scale of its military operations and ignoring our people's desire for peace and the nation's interests.

The USSR's proposal on a cease-fire is an important condition for the creation in Afghanistan of a broad-based coalition government. The formation of such a government could be achieved via talks between the opposing sides.

The positive experience of using the peacemaking efforts of the United Nations in various countries gives all grounds for considering it expedient to use UN peacekeeping forces in Afghanistan. The holding of an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan in accordance with the proposal put forward by the Afghan Government could also help reduce tension in the region.

We are grateful to the Soviet Union for its readiness to help restore the Afghan economy both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of UN programs. The USSR has always given comprehensive and unselfish help to our people. Now that millions of Afghans are in such need of peace, the Soviet Union's new peacemaking efforts generate a sense of gratitude and respect among the long-suffering Afghan people.

Officials, Alliance Members Discuss POW Release

WA1712224488 Paris AFP in English 2041 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Islamabad, Dec 17 (AFP)—Soviet officials and representatives of the Afghan resistance alliance met here Saturday [16 December] for talks on a prisoner swap while in Afghanistan rebels kept up their attacks.

Soviet and rebel officials met at the Foreign Office in Islamabad to discuss modalities for a prisoners of war exchange, an official statement said.

The third round of talks between the two sides lasted more than an hour and were held at the request of the Soviet Embassy. In talks on November 28 rebels agreed to swap four Soviet prisoners for 100 mujahidin guerrillas, rebel sources said.

The four-member Soviet delegation was headed by Vladimir Krasilnikov, Soviet Embassy counsellor, while the mujahidin team was led by Ghairat Baheer, an aide to Gulbuddin Hikmatyar head of the fundamentalist Islamic Hezb-e Eslami resistance faction.

Resistance sources said the meeting was not linked with the first substantive discussions on the Afghanistan held between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and resistance alliance chief Burhanuddin Rabbani in Saudi Arabia this month.

Official sources said further negotiations would be held to finalize details.

Resistance sources said the mujahidin delegation protested at the deployment of some 5,000 Soviet troops in the key southern city of Kandahar in "flagrant violation" of an understanding reached during the Saudi Arabia talks.

They warned that the move could endanger the lives of Soviet prisoners held by the rebels and added that the troop movement had led to the capture of more Soviet troops.

Moscow wants the release of more than 300 men listed as missing since the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, a member of the resistance involved in the talks said.

The talks were arranged by Pakistan and U.N. officials last month, when the mujahidin offered to release four Soviet soldiers recently captured in Afghanistan as a "gesture of goodwill," he said.

He said the mujahidin expressed anger at the Soviet decision to arrest 134 civilians and elders of Baghlan, a province north of Kabul where the troops were captured, in retaliation.

The Soviet side agreed to convey the mujahidin demand for their immediate release to the Soviet command in Kabul, he said.

The Soviet side asked that the prisoner swap be on Pakistani soil, but the resistance retorted "we can not guarantee safe transportation in view of mines seeded on the routes and your Scud SS-1 missiles," the source said.

The Soviets have agreed to a mujahidin proposal to hand over the four Soviet troops to a Red Army commander in Baghlan provided the 100 Afghan mujahidin prisoners were handed over to a rebel commander near Kabul, he said.

"If the Soviets agree to this, the mujahidin can prepare for the next step in the release of remaining prisoners," a source close to Mr. Hikmatyar said.

He claimed that majority of the Soviet POWs were in his group's custody.

Afghan resistance missile attacks have killed 15 people wounded 24 over the past three days in the Laghman provincial capital of Mehtarlam in northeast Afghanistan, Radio Kabul said Saturday in a despatch monitored here.

The state-run radio said "extremists"—a euphemism for Afghan resistance guerrillas—used ground-to-ground missiles and other heavy weapons in the attacks.

It said 15 civilians were killed and 24 wounded in attacks over the past three days. Five houses were destroyed and 36 damaged.

Rebel Offensive on Afghan Town Suspended

LD1812094688 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 18 TASS—Armed opposition detachments, having sustained heavy losses, were forced to suspend the offensive on Mehtarlam, the administrative center of the Afghan eastern province of Laghman.

According to reports monitored here, following four days of missile and artillery bombardments of the city, when over 1,500 shells exploded in its streets, large rebel forces moved to Mehtarlam. However, at the approaches to the provincial center they were stopped by units of the Afghan Armed Forces and volunteers from among local residents.

During the fighting the rebels lost some 100 people killed or wounded. A foreign adviser, who gave guidance to the offensive actions by anti-government groups, was heavily injured. Fifteen residents of the city perished during the bombardment and the attack in the past day, BAKHTAR reported. The situation in the approaches to Mehtarlam remains very tense: The opposition does not abandon plans to seize the strategically important city which is located near the Kabul-Jalalabad road.

In the past 24 hours fighting between government troops and rebel formations continued in Nangarhar, Qandahar, and Paktia Provinces. A military communique released here says that dozens of extremists were killed or wounded, 17 weapons caches were demolished and several enemy fortified positions seized.

News also came about new clashes between formations of opposition parties grouped in the Peshawar alliance of the seven. They erupted, in part, in Paktia and Mirbachakot District, Kabul Province. A truck transporting supporters of the "Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan" hit a mine planted by members of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" in the area of Jadran. About 30 mujahidin died and were injured at the hands of their "associates."

The investigation into the case of a group of terrorists who penetrated Kabul to stage explosions and acts of sabotage found out that they had at their disposal several caches holding explosive and poisoning substances. On December 17, security men, relying on confessions by the arrested, found already the second weapons depot holding 100 kilograms of explosives, magnetic mines, and rockets.

BAKHTAR reports that an official of the Afghan Foreign Ministry handed over to the U.N. Good Offices Mission the 152nd and 153rd notes. These documents contain evidence of the new violations by Pakistan of its commitments under the Geneva agreements and give figures of material damage and human casualties inflicted as a result of these violations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin Discusses Brazzaville Accord

LD1612151088 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—After the signing of the Brazzaville protocol, the chances for a successful completion of the talks on South-West Africa settlement have grown considerably, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official stated today.

Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, speaking at a briefing here, said that the Soviet Union welcomed the development.

The Soviet Union had believed from the very start that the process of negotiations might lead to success, he said. "We backed the stand of our Angolan and Cuban friends, including their desire to see the United States acting as the go-between in the talks, without feeling envy on this account."

Asked why the Soviet Union did not take a direct part in the talks, Adamishin remarked that "looking for solutions is up to the direct parties themselves. This is their region, their conflict, and they should have the decisive say in what way to settle it."

Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States nor any other party should impose its model of settlement, Adamishin said. To make it solid, one needs a balance of interests that would be found by the parties themselves.

"The Soviet Union was not an indifferent bystander. Without imposing its will on anyone, we strove, acting tactfully, to help look for ways to reach accord."

At present, it was important to bring to an end the process of concluding the agreements and then strictly to comply with them, Adamishin said. "There are facts causing certain anxiety in this connection. One should not fail to notice South African actions directed at reinforcing police units in Namibia and the continued intrigues around UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] as deliveries to it from South Africa and the United States have grown."

"The Soviet Union, which already stated its readiness to act, along with other permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, as a political guarantor of the settlement, intends to work in this direction in the future in contact with the parties to the talks and the United Nations," the deputy foreign minister said.

He observed that the solution of the Angolan-Namibian issue will facilitate the handling of other problems related to the regional confict in southern Africa, including the peaceful dismantling of the apartheid system in the Republic of South Africa.

Niger Ambassador Presents Credentials 14 Dec

PM1512112388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] On 14 December in the Kremlin, Pierre Osey, Niger ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Niger leadership, P. Osey said, highly appraises its relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and is grateful to the Soviet Union for its assistance in training national cadres and strengthening the country's public health care system. Stressing that Niger is following the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union with great interest, the ambassador wished the Soviet people success in attaining their goals.

Accepting the credentials of the new Niger ambassador on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov confirmed the Soviet Union's willingness to further develop Soviet-Niger relations and noted the close views of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Niger on a whole series of basic problems of today, which makes it possible to broaden collaboration in the solution of topical international problems. He briefed P. Osey on progress in restructuring in our country and talked about the current reform of the political system, which is part of the process of radically renewing all spheres of life in Soviet society.

A.I. Lukyanov drew the ambassador's attention to M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations, which contains our vision of the modern world, and expressed the belief that the Soviet Union's new initiatives are in the interests of all peoples of the world.

After the presentation of credentials, there was a friendly conversation between A.I. Lukyanov and P. Osey.

T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, took part in the conversation.

East Europe

Greetings on Polish Communist Party Anniversary

PM1512155688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message to PZPR Central Committee on PZPR anniversary]

[Text] To the PZPR Central Committee

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends warm fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations to the PZPR Central Committee, all Polish Communists, and the people of the Polish People's Republic on the occasion of the noteworthy events—the 40th anniversary of the formation of the PZPR and the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Communist Party of Poland.

The Communist Party of Poland, emerging in the course of the development of the proletarian movement in Poland, which had close historical links with the destiny of the Russian workers' movement, and operating in underground conditions in the context of repressions, consistently defended the national and social interests of the broad people's masses. In the period of Hitlerite occupation Polish Communists made a weighty contribution to the antifascist national liberation struggle for an independent, democratic Poland.

The formation of the PZPR, the worthy continuer of the revolutionary traditions of its predecessors—the Communist Party of Poland, the Polish Workers Party, and the left wing of the Polish Socialist party—was a historic gain for the Polish working class and clear evidence of its political maturity.

In its 40 years of activity the PZPR has shown itself to be a leading force, the combat vanguard of the Polish people. Implementing the decisions of its 10th congress and drawing support from the allied United Peasants Party and Democratic Party and other progressive forces, it steadfastly seeks to overcome the existing socioeconomic difficulties and achieve a broad national consensus for the sake of socialism.

The Soviet Union notes with satisfaction the dynamically developing links between the CPSU and the PZPR, the deepening all-around Soviet-Polish cooperation, and the increased climate of trust between our peoples, which promotes the successful implementation of restructuring in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland.

In these noteworthy jubilee days the Communists and all Soviet people wish you, dear comrades, further successes in implementing the goals set.

The CPSU Central Committee

BCP Central Committee Plenum Reported

PM1512133388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "BCP Central Committee Plenum Has Begun Work"]

[Text] Sofia, 14 Dec—A BCP Central Committee plenum began work here yesterday at which T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, delivered the introductory speech for the report "On the Further Practical Implementation of the July Strategy for Restructuring Bulgarian Society."

In particular, he stressed that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States and his speech at the United Nations was an event of exceptional political importance, a graphic demonstration of the defense, development, and practical implementation of the principles of the new political thinking. The proposals made from the UN rostrum open up a new stage in the process of disarmament and the guaranteeing of international security. The BCP and the Bulgarian state fully support these proposals and will do everything for the triumph of the new political thinking.

Unfortunately, during the Soviet leader's visit to the United States, news came of the catastrophic earthquake in Soviet Armenia. Whole cities were in ruins and tens of thousands of people have died or been injured. The entire Soviet people came to the victims' assistance. Our country also feels deep sorrow. There is no Bulgarian who did not experience heartfelt pain, who would not be willing to render assistance. In this difficult hour I propose once again expressing our sympathy to the Soviet comrades and all victims of the earthquake. We will do everything in our power to support the Armenian people in their trouble.

The report notes that the restructuring that is being implemented in the country is producing increasingly tangible results. The national economy's development is characterized by intensiveness and steadiness. At the same time new questions have appeared in this process, and the keenness of a number of unresolved problems in the economy and in social relations has been intensified. We have not succeeded in ensuring a system of economic regulators and methods of economic management. That is why the plenum is faced with the task of presenting a political assessment of the situation and promoting the creation of conditions for implementing profound changes in society.

The economy should occupy a central place, the report notes. It is essential to eliminate all structures which are preventing enterprises from becoming truly self-managing organizations. In this connection there is an urgent need to create a a firm-type organization of sectors and spheres of activity. Firms, as the basic organizational form for commodity producers, can be created at the initiative of state organs, public and economic organizations, banks, cooperatives, and individual citizens.

There is not a single question of the economy which cannot be resolved without democratizing life and restructuring the legal system, the document says. The further consolidation of self-managing communities in material and spiritual life, the implementation of the socialist pluralism of people's opinions and interests, and the ensuring of broad glasnost and information for people are all essential.

The further development of restructuring should become a nationwide matter. What is needed, the report stresses, is the formula: advancing by degrees and assertively, assertively and by degrees.

Those taking part in the plenum will also discuss the draft plans for the country's scientific, technical, and socioeconomic development for 1989, which will be submitted for examination by the forthcoming session of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

New Ambassador to SFRY Loginov Profiled

LD1612175088 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) has appointed Vadim Loginov ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia.

The new Soviet ambassador, born in 1927, has been in diplomatic service since 1968.

He served as first secretary and then as counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in the United States, and as counsellor-minister at the Soviet Embassy in Poland.

Loginov was the Soviet ambassador to Angola between 1978 and 1984, and deputy foreign minister in 1985-1988.

He served lately as first deputy head of a department in the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. He is a candidate member of the party Central Committee.

Viktor Maltsev has been relieved of the duties of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia in connection with his retirement.

West Europe

Babenko Views Reaction to Gorbachev Initiative

LD1612205988 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—By TASS political commentator Yevgeniy Babenko:

It is no easy business for TASS to deal with the huge amount of incoming international comments on Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the United Nations. Sometimes one is at a loss what should be singled out, since most of them are extremely interest, [as received] indeed.

I should like to quote but one statement. Speaking in Munich, the FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed that the USSR's initiatives to reduce its Armed Forces and armaments were a "conspicuous step towards disarmament". There is yet another noteworthy point in the minister's statement. The future of Europe, he said, is hinged not on hopes to destabilize the Soviet Union, but on cooperation and constructive competition.

Not everybody in the West is in accord with this view, however. The case, to our mind, appears perfectly clear: Moscow is to reduce unilaterally its Armed Forces and armaments in the European and Asian parts of the USSR and, moreover, to pull out a part of its contingents from the territories of several of its allies without obliging the other side to take any corresponding steps in reply. Is this good or bad?

This may be taken for a purely rhetorical question. But it not, since some people are prone to see the Kremlin's "crafty designs" or at least its "evil intent" even in such proposals.

Why did I say "some people"? I am in a position, indeed, to point out some of them. Retired General Pierre Gallois of France, for instance, the prominent French politician, former nuclear weapons adviser to Charles de Gaulle and author of many publications. The last one appeared in the Paris newspaper "LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS." The retired general claims in it that the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its Armed Forces is explained, you see, by their "unnecessariness".

It is hard to argue with Pierre Gallios, since his logic is absurd. But one question is pertinent: What is his attitude to the most up-to-date medium- and shorter-range missiles that are now being destroyed in compliance with the known Soviet-American agreement? Does he regard them as "unnecessary", too, as scrap iron that could not be disposed of in any other way?

The British "DAILY TELEGRAPH" defence correspondent Robert Fox chose to embark upon a still more untrodden path. Having thought over the problems for a while, consulted some people and read some "documents", to which he vaguely alludes, this expert arrived at the stunning conclusion: Moscow's reduction of Armed Forces and armaments in Europe is due to..."demographic necessity". His point is not clear, however. The Soviet side is reducing both men and armaments... What have guns, tanks and aircraft got to do with demagrophy? This needs explanation.

What other concoctions will be devised by those who dislike the Soviet initiatives, who are displeased with the thaw in the international military-political climate, who are against lowering the level of military confrontation between the two blocs? Let us wait and see. Sometimes they are more fascinating than science fiction.

Soviet-Italian Commission Completes Work

LD1612231788 Moscow TASS in English 2302 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Rome December 17 TASS—The concluding meeting of the 16th session of the Mixed Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and Italy was held in Rome yesterday. The Soviet delegation at the meeting was led by Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations. The Italian delegation was headed by Foreign Trade Minister Renato Ruggiero. A protocol was signed on the results of the session.

At the same time talks were concluded and several major contracts signed between Italian and Soviet organizations to the sum of over 300 million roubles. The protocol defines specific areas for further cooperation as well as measures to ensure more efficient activity of the mixed commission and its working organs to realize the results of the talks in Moscow last October between Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Ciriaco de Mita, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, as well as decisions taken by the session.

Replying to journalists' questions after the signing of the protocol, Ruggiero said that a business-like approach was characteristic of the session's work. Each side naturally wants to export more, and the sides examined in detail mutual possibilities in this respect. The matter in question is prospects of a very large scale, said the Italian minister.

Katushev pointed to the mutual desire for a constructive solution of existing problems, which gave a chance to

achieve results which satisfy both sides. This was a specific contribution to realization of principled understandings reached in Moscow between Gorbachev and De Mita, he said. "Italy takes the third place among the developed capitalist countries in the volume of trade with the Soviet Union, and we intend to direct our efforts at ensuring this position for Italy in the trade turnover with us," noted the minister. He also pointed to the importance of strengthening relations in scientific and technical cooperation. Apart from resolving some current questions, the session took a decision on drafting a new long-term programme for the development of Soviet-Italian trade, economic, scientific and technical relations, noted the Soviet minister.

Tolstykh Receives Italian Academy President
PM1512152588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received E. Amaldi, president of the Lincei National Academy of Sciences, on 14 December. In the course of the conversation they discussed questions linked with holding a Soviet-Italian Scientific and Cultural Relations Week in Moscow in 1989.

Political & Social

Draft Criminal Law Fundamentals Published

PM1612172588 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 17 December carries in its Morning Edition on pages 1-3 the 13,000-word "Draft Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics." It begins:

"The formation and development of the socialist rule-of-law state, the protection of the Soviet person's rights and freedoms, and the responsibility of the state to the citizen and of the citizen to the state are inseparably linked to the strengthening of the legal basis of state and social life, unfailing compliance with the socialist rule of law and law and order, and the stepping up of the struggle against crime and the elimination of the factors that give rise to it.

"With the support of labor collectives, social organizations, and all working people, the Soviet state implements a range of economic, social, and legal measures aimed at preventing crime and educating citizens in a spirit of intolerance of all infringements of the rule of law and readiness actively to participate in maintaining law and order. The authority of public opinion and the force of law should be fully utilized in combating crime.

"The criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics, by safeguarding socialist law and order against criminal infringements, promotes the putting into practice of the principles of social justice, effective monitoring of the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, and the liability of citizens for their actions. Soviet criminal legislation helps to combat crimes against peace and the security of mankind and to strengthen cooperation among peoples.

"Every Soviet person should be firmly confident that his rights and legitimate interests are protected and should be aware of the state's concern for the inviolability of his person and property and respect for his honor and dignity. No lawbreaker should escape the liability laid down by law, and no innocent person should be subjected to criminal proceedings and convicted.

"Criminal punishment should be applied in strict accordance with the law, taking into account the gravity of the crime committed and the personality of the culprit, on the basis of the principles of democracy and socialist humanism. While severe measures of punishment should be applied to persons who commit crimes that represent a danger to society, who have previous convictions, and who stubbornly refuse to engage in an honest working life, wider use must be made of the opportunities offered by the law to give punishments not involving deprivation of liberty in the case of persons guilty of committing less dangerous crimes and capable of being corrected without isolation from society. Any person who has committed a crime and atoned for his guilt can once again become a full citizen of Soviet society.

"Section I

"General Provisions

"Article 1. Criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics

"(1) The criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics consists of the present Fundamentals, which define the principles and prescribe the general provisions of criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics; all-union laws, which specify liability for individual crimes; and the criminal codes of the union republics.

"(2) All-union criminal laws define liability for crimes against the state and military crimes, and where necessary for other crimes directed against the interests of the USSR, and for crimes against peace and the security of mankind.

"(3) The criminal legislation of the USSR and union republics must be brought into line with the provisions of international treaties concluded by the USSR.

"Article 2. Tasks of Soviet criminal legislation

"(1) The criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics has the task of protecting the USSR's social system, its political and economic systems, the person, rights, and freedoms of citizens, state and cooperative property, and the property of social organizations, the natural environment, and socialist law and order as a whole against criminal infringements, and also promotes the preservation of peace and the security of mankind. Criminal legislation promotes the prevention of crimes and the education of citizens in the spirit of strict compliance with the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws and respect for the rules of socialist communal living.

"(2) In order to carry out these tasks, the criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics defines which socially dangerous actions are crimes, prescribes punishments, and makes provision for other measures of influence that may be applied to persons committing crimes.

"Article 3. Principles of criminal legislation

"(1) The criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics is based on the principles of the rule of law, democracy, inescapability of liability, equality of citizens before the law, personal and culpable liability, justice, and humanism.

"(2) No one may be deemed guilty of committing a crime or subjected to criminal punishment other than by a verdict of the court and in accordance with the law.

"Article 4. Basis of criminal liability

"(1) The basis of criminal liability is the commission of an act containing all the elements of a crime stipulated by the criminal law.

"(2) A person who has committed a crime is subject to criminal liability irrespective of origin, social, official, or material position, racial or national identity, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, place of residence, or other circumstances.

"(3) No one can be subjected to criminal liability twice for the same crime."

The remainder of Section I consists of definitions of the territorial and temporal extent of criminal legislation. This is followed by Section II "On Crime," which provides detailed legalistic definitions of the factors determining what a crime is and what category of crime given actions fall into; Section III "On Circumstances Precluding the Criminality of an Action"; Section IV "On Punishment," which defines the range of punishments available to courts and the general categories of crime to which they are applicable; Section V "Sentencing," stipulating that sentences "must be just and correspond to the provisions of these Fundamentals and the criminal code of the union republic" and defining mitigating and aggravating circumstances and other factors affecting sentencing practice; Section VI "Suspended and Deferred Sentences"; Section VII "Release From Criminal Responsibility and Penalty"; Section VIII "Particular Factors in the Criminal Responsibility of Minors"; and Section IX "Compulsory Measures of a Medical Nature."

The areas of criminal law which have been the subject of particular public debate recently are treated as follows:

The concept of "presumption of innocence": The document makes no mention of this concept.

The death penalty: Section V includes the following:

"Article 41. The supreme penalty—the death penalty

"(1) Pending its complete abolition, the application of the death penalty—by shooting—is authorized as the supreme penalty for treason, espionage, a terrorist act, subversion, premeditated homicide with aggravating circumstances, or rape of a minor. In instances for which USSR legislative acts make special provision, the death penalty can also be prescribed for other crimes committed in wartime or in a combat situation.

"(2) The death penalty cannot be applied to persons who have committed crimes while under 18 years of age, to women, or to men who have reached the age of 60 at the time of sentencing."

The use of psychiatric treatment: Section IX includes the following:

"Article 75. Application of compulsory measures of a medical nature with regard to the mentally ill

"(1) With regard to persons who have committed socially dangerous acts stipulated by the criminal law while unfit to plead, or who have committed crimes but become ill before or after pronunciation of the verdict with mental illness depriving them of the capacity to be aware of their own actions or to control them, the court applies compulsory measures of a medical nature if such persons, by the nature of the action committed and their illness, constitute a danger to society.

"(2) The court may prescribe the following compulsory measures of a medical nature:

"a) treatment in a psychiatric hospital (department) with normal supervision;

"b) treatment in a psychiatric hospital (department) with intensified supervision;

"c) treatment in a psychiatric hospital (department) with strict supervision.

"(3) Instead of the application of compulsory measures of a medical nature, the court may transfer the mentally ill person to the custody of relatives or other persons caring for the patient, on condiion of obligatory supervision by a physician at the place of residence.

"(4) The time during which compulsory measures of a medical nature are applied to a person suffering from mental illness after the commission of a crime counts toward the term of the sentence.

"(5) The conditions and procedure for the application of compulsory measures of a medical nature are prescribed by the legislation of the union republics.

"Article 76. The application of compulsory measures of a medical nature with regard to alcoholics, drug addicts, and toxic substance addicts

"(1) In the event of the commission of a crime by an alcoholic, drug addict, or toxic substance addict, the court may prescribe compulsory treatment for the said person on the basis of the recommendations of a commission of physicians.

"(2) With regard to a person sentenced to deprivation of liberty, treatment for alcoholism, drug addiction, or toxic substance addiction takes place at the place where

the sentence is served or in a closed medical establishment, or, in the case of a person sentenced to punishment not involving deprivation of liberty, in a medical establishment with a special treatment regime."

Sumgait Trial Sentences Akhmedov To Execution

LD1712145388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (TASS)—The trial of Akhmed Akhmedov, who is accused of organizing mass disorders and murders in one of the districts of Sumgait in February 1988, has ended in the USSR Supreme Court.

It is impossible, without shuddering, and without pain and bitterness, to listen to the words of the guilty verdict. As a result of a painstaking and comprehensive judicial investigation, the court established the truth and painted, in its final report, an objective picture of what happened, and all the details of the crimes that Akhmedov himself committed and toward which he incited others.

The guilt of Akhmed Akhmedov has been fully established by the court. "...In the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics...," the words of Raymond Brize, a member of the USSR Supreme Court, resound sternly in the tense stillness of the hall, "the ultimate penalty is imposed on the defendant—execution by firing squad. The sentence is not subject to appeal or protest in any process of revision."

One of the three accused has been sentenced. As for the defendants Ilgam Ismaylov and Yavar Dzhafarov, the panel of judges found, after examining the evidence in the case, that the preliminary inquiry concerning these persons was not carried out in adequate detail. Details of the charges against Ilgam Ismaylov and Yavar Dzhafarov have been forwarded to the USSR Procurator's Office for supplementary investigation.

Further Reportage on Aftermath of Earthquake

Casualty Figures Updated

LD1712183188 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 17 TASS—Rescue operations in the earthquake-hit area are going on. Another 89 dead bodies were pulled from under the rubble over the past twenty-four hours, and there was one survivor—in Leninakan.

Thirty people died in hospitals. The number of those who died as a result of the earthquake has totalled 23,390.

Over ten days, 15,252 people were rescued.

Rescue Efforts Reviewed

LD1712190288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Report from Yerevan by special correspondents Yuriy Korotkov and Korion Khumaryan—live or recorded]

[Text] [Korotkov] At the routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission today, the results of work over the last 24 hours were summed up and specific measures for the next stage were drawn up. In particular the following figures were given: As of today, the number of dead is 23,271 people, and 45,000 women, elderly, and children have been evacuated from the disaster zone.

While rescue work is basically over in Kirovokan and Spitak, it is going on at full speed in Leninakan. There are 737 cranes, 1,736 mine rescue workers, and thousands of troops working here clearing up the ruins. The session noted that there is an urgent need for extra bulldozers, loaders, dumptrucks, and excavators. The USSR Gossnab is doing all it can to get this machinery there as quickly as possible, but the unloading cannot be quick enough to satisfy anyone, and although an average of 1,300 railway cars are handled per day, quite a few unloaded trains are backed up on the tracks, so on their days off workers from enterprises and institutions of Yerevan have come to help the railway men.

[Khumaryan] But it is not just a matter of unloading the cars lining up at the stations now. The same high rate of unloading, with a precise, two-shift work schedule will be necessary in the future too, because the second stage of work sketched out by the Politburo commission is already starting: the restoration of the towns and villages that were destroyed and their economic potential.

At the moment more than 24,000 cars are on their way from all ends of the country with building materials and the essential machinery. This figure will grow daily, and in order to receive all this freight, our stations must handle at least 1,700 cars per day.

The commission also examined the proposals for the general plans of the towns of Spitak and Kirovakan. The town of Spitak will have to be built from scratch, but a little farther south, since the old town was situated at the juncture of two seismic faults, which threatens serious consequences.

As for Kirovakan, there will have to be a complete reappraisal of the economic structure, and some enterprises will have to be redesignated. New industrial construction in this area is impermissible. Leninakan will also have to be rebuilt practically from scratch, as well as the 128 villages and settlements that were in the earthquake zone. Of course, this huge volume of work cannot be done by Armenia alone; all the fraternal republics have come to its aid.

[Korotkov] Yes, the Armenian people have not been left alone in their tragedy. The whole country has come to their aid. Yet another manifestation of this concern is the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers published in the republican papers today concerning the payment of (?one-time) grants and compensation to citizens for the value of their property lost as a result of the earthquake. Pensions have been established for disabilities arising as a result of injury or disease, and gor families who have lost their breadwinner. At the same time, the victims are being given aid by many union ministries, public organizations, and foreign states.

'Absurd' Explosion Rumor Rebutted

PM1812190588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1,6

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan, S. Taranov, and F. Ivanov, including interview with Academician Ye. Velikhov: "Professionalism and Humanity"; place, date of interview not given]

[Excerpt] These days the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences building is the headquarters of the country's leading scientific forces. It is headed by G. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and it has been in session almost continuously. A great number of questions are under discussion directly related to eliminating the aftereffects of the earthquake: from the development of seismology to the situation in power generation.

We took advantage of a brief recess to meet with Academician Ye. Velikhov and asked about the condition and the future of the Armenian AES.

"As you know," Yevgeniy Pavlovich said, "recently Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov confirmed that in 2 years the station will be closed down. Its design does not meet the demands now being made on AES's under construction. Nevertheless, I want to stress that the Armenian AES has played a tremendous role in providing the republic with energy during these tragic days. After all, the Razadanskaya GRES has virtually been put out of action as a result of the underground tremors. It was only thanks to the intelligent and skillful work of the AES service personnel that the electricity supply was not interrupted even for a minute. The energy supply to the affected regions was quickly restored.

"All this, I repeat, is to the tremendous credit of the station's workers. But we have a number of serious complaints against power workers. After the accident at the Chernobyl AES, a plan was elaborated for the modernization of the station in Armenia—it has not been implemented (incidentally, this station, as its director has announced, is designed to withstand earthquakes up to force 8). Even now, in a situation such as this, a number of concrete measures connected with the closure of the station are also not being carried out. Why? I believe this question will be answered by the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation commission which has arrived in Armenia.

"Armenia's own energy resources are not great," Academician Velikhov believes, "and therefore the only alternative is imported fuel and gas. Now the qualitative modernization of the Razdanskaya GRES is under discussion. It is necessary to sharply increase the efficiency of its turbines to 48 percent....

"All this does not mean that I completely rule out the construction of atomic power stations in seismically dangerous regions. It is possible here, in the Transcaucasus, and in the Crimea and other similar parts of the country. But they must be built with a greatly increased safety margin. Now, as you probably know, the seismic charts of the Caucasus are being reviewed. This work will take in other parts of the country. Generally speaking, seismology is a young science and cannot yet predict earthquakes with great accuracy. But I believe that it can already give an answer in principle on the possibility and scale of an earthquake in a given location. It is now a question of elaborating a methodology and creating special instruments. Such instruments already exist, and we have tested them during experiments at nuclear testing ranges. But at present we only have a few of them. There must be a network of geophysical stations across the country, and we are only just beginning to set it up. In general I should like to note that all these questions are not new. A program for the development of seismology was adopted after the devastating Romanian earthquake in 1977, whose reverberations even reached Moscow. But it was not implemented at that time and was essentially dropped...."

[Correspondents] "Yevgeniy Pavlovich, natural disasters and catastrophes have always given rise to a host of conjectures and rumors. Even now we often hear people say: None of this was an accident; 'evil forces' carried out a directed explosion of unprecedented force...."

[Velikhov] "I do not want to condemn people who have experienced this dreadful calamity and are frightened by its scale," Ye. Velikhov said, "but nonetheless I have to state: These rumors are utterly absurd. I am no specialist in this field, but even so it is clear to me that such an explosion is technically simply impossible. Moreover, the power of the quake was equivalent to hundreds of megatons. An explosion of such force could not pass unnoticed." [passage omitted]

Seismologist Denies Quake Predicted

LD1612233388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] At a time when all Soviet people and people of the world's many countries are shattered by the disaster that struck Armenia, and are doing everything possible to alleviate the sufferings of those caught in the earthquake, some speculation on the people's grief has transpired.

Nationalistic elements have floated a rumor that Moscow allegedly knew about the impending earthquake and disaster that was approaching Armenia, but deliberately failed to give warnings: Let them be shaken and they will forget about Nagorno-Karabakh. This monstrous rumor is backed by leaflets. An appeal is being prepared for the United Nations, calling on it to sort out what has happened. Signatures to this appeal are being collected.

Our correspondent met Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Sobolev, professor of the Institute of Terrestrial Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the expert group for forecasting earthquakes in the USSR, and asked him for his view about the rumors being floated in Armenia.

[Begin recording] [Sobolev] I must say that these rumors being floated in Armenia are baseless. I think they are provocative rumors, as short-term forecasting methods have not been developed anywhere in the world. I have been to the United States, Japan, and China precisely to find out their experience as to what extent short-term forecasting is possible. I can honestly state that forecasting methods capable of giving early warning to the population 1, 2, or 3 hours, or even in the days before, do not exist. Methods of long-term forecasting, for several years ahead, have been developed to determine a place as possibly dangerous. Such a long-term forecast map has been developed jointly with the Caucasian regional center with Armenian comrades taking part—and it was sent to the Armenian technological institute 3 years ago. But on the basis of this map it is impossible to say that there will be an earthquake definitely, or very probably, on a certain day. What is more, a special service of the Armenian Academy of Sciences in Armenia has been set up to observe short-term omens. In the area of the epicenter, near the towns of Stepanavan and (Elekaran) there was, and is, a center, an earthquake forecasting ground, an Armenian forecasting ground. In the area of (Gorniy) near Yerevan, there is also the Ararat forecasting ground. I must point out that no information about short-term signs presaging the earthquake of 7 December came to Moscow to me, in particular. What is more, I think the political situation in Armenia did not facilitate any observation of signs presaging an earthquake to be carried out at a high standard.

[Correspondent] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, I think that sea waves rage for a long time before they calm down. Have the waves underground calmed down?

[Sobolev] Yes, you are absolutely right in this respect. We expect that in the area of the epicenter and around it there will be continuing strong tremors in the next few days and months. Not as strong as the main earthquake, but tremors which can cause quakes of approximately, or perhaps up to 8 points. First this means that the population must not yet return to partly destroyed houses of concrete construction, not until the tremors end. Second, in order to determine where and when these quakes can occur, an expedition of our institute left for the epicentral area on the 1st day after the earthquake. On the same day an expedition of Georgian seismologists left Tbilisi in order to help their Armenian comrades resume observations of weak tremors.

Now, at the request of the governments of both Armenia and the USSR, women, children, and those who are not helping clear obstructions are leaving Armenia. In my view this is an absolutely correct step, for we must wait for the time when the danger of subsequent tremors is gone. Then it will be possible to go back. Remaining in this dangerous area, as called for by some elements in Armenia, is wrong, in my view, from the standpoint of seismologists. People must temporarily leave this dangerous area. [end recording]

'Rumors' Interrupt Work in Yerevan

LD1612141088 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 16 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Yanchenkov:

There are always rumours going around, but believe only half of what you hear.

The information that is being spread in Armenia cannot be described as rumours, or even as gossip. It is rather the result of insidious actions masterminded by someone and aimed at aggravating the tense situation in the republic.

On December 12, at 12:15, people at Yerevan's railway terminal heard a voice, amplified by megaphone, saying:

"Attention, danger. Everyone must immediately leave the building. Another earthquake is expected."

Naturally, the announcement caused panic at the station. It took long time for people to calm down.

It turned out later that the panic was caused by Engineer A.R. Tevikyan of the Armenian State Planning Committee's computer centre, who is temporarily working at the station registering passengers.

Tevikyan had received a call from his fellow worker S.S. Sarkisyan who earlier had been warned about a new earth tremor by someone from Yerevan's Physics Institute.

On the same day, the Armenian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Geological Sciences received information, reportedly checked three times, that underground thermal, or epithermal, water had flooded land in the epicentre of the recent earthquake.

The information even contained names of the places where this had occurred: the villages of Nalband, Verin, Nerkin, Parni, Tsakhkaber and Gogaran.

A large group of specialists had to interrupt their work and leave for those villages. Thorough examination of the territory disproved the rumour.

A senior research worker at the Institute of Geological Sciences' Geochemistry Laboratory, P.M. Kaplanyan, said:

"Such phenomena were not recorded in any of the villages mentioned, either before or after the earthquake. This rumour is groundless."

In another development, scientists, specialists and the public were alerted by a reported gas leak from the Gutansar volcano and a sudden and inexplicable rise in soil temperature in the village of Madina.

The most sinister of the rumours, which worried all people in the area, suggested that on December 13 land near the Aigezard village, Artashat District, had cracked and that hot stones, gas and sparks erupted from the crack. Could that be a volcano?

Once again staff members of the Institute of Geological Sciences stopped their work and left for Aigezard. Soon they found out, however, that the alarm was caused by a malfunctioning gas over at a local winery.

Ill-natured rumours and gossip are terribly damaging nowadays in Armenia, tormented by the earthquake, and inhuman since they rub salt in fresh wounds, perturb people, who suffered an immense psychological and physical shock only a few days ago, and cause panic.

Arutyunyan on Rescue Situation

LD1712214488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on republican television. He said, in part:

[Begin Arutyunyan recording] From the first hours following the disaster all our efforts were concentrated on the most important thing: starting as soon as possible to clear the ruins and rescue people. All our potential was urgently mobilized to help out those who remained beneath the rubble. During the first and the most difficult hours following the disaster, the creative possibilities of our unity, solidarity, and fraternity were revealed to their full extent. All the peoples of our great power came together to counter the disaster. The Armenian people gratefully acknowledged the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich, after hearing of the immense calamity that had struck Armenia, cut short his foreign visit and returned home to directly involve himself in the work to overcome the consequences of the earthquake. Mikhail Sergeyevich flew without delay to the epicenter of the disaster and shared our grief with us.

As is known, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission headed by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was set up to coordinate work on a nationwide scale. The chief, most important thing was to rescue people. And on the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and subsequent days, we continued to extricate tens, hundreds of victims from the ruins. We are still receiving reports of people being rescued—tormented, exhausted—but alive. Even one single life saved is a victory in the important cause that we all serve today.

Now, when every hour, every minute the struggle is on for people's lives in hospitals and field hospitals in the disaster area, when the whole republic—both young and old—is working indefatigably and in unity to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, when people cannot restrain their tears as they read the newspapers or watch television, one can only term the attempts by groups of irresponsible persons to aggravate the situation and to cause confusion in people's hearts sacrilegious. In these days of nationwide grief, when life and death hang in the balance, the contrast between the loftiness of the human spirit and the baseness of these designs is much sharper. The tragedy will allow no cunning. It shows who is who.

Work in the republic is being carried out at maximum pace. Situations that are out of the ordinary and unexpected are arising constantly, and we cannot always find the right way out of them in time. A maximum exertion of strength is required of everyone.

In these conditions, what name can be found for the actions of the leaders of the Karabakh committee, those who are seeking out the blunders and slips in coordination which are unfortunately unavoidable in such extreme circumstances and who are fanning rumors and fabrications about them, thus whipping up passions? What name can be given to those who, during the most difficult work of rescuing people and clearing the rubble—in which we are all now engaged—are introducing muddle and confusion and, against this background, are trying to create the appearance of usefulness? We must look the truth in the eye. At the basis of the activity of such persons lies political adventurism, a desire to seize the initiative and acquire inflated authority from loud words.

In the very near future, the first projects of the towns and villages to be rebuilt will be tabled for discussion by the whole people. Our public has to give its considered word. The projects should harmoniously absorb both the advanced ideas of modern-day town planning and the age-old traditions and originality of our lifestyle. Our people, who have experienced many hardships, deprivations, and misfortunes, will withstand this harshest of tests also. They will come out of it even more united and steadfast. They will overcome everything through their industriousness and strength of spirit, with the fraternal

assistance of all Soviet peoples. Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, Stepanavan, and our other towns and villages will rise from the ruins and become even more beautiful. Our ancient land will continue to flourish in the future. [end recording]

Antilooting Procedures Tightened

PM1612122988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondent Major O. Vladykin: "Access and Entry Procedures Tightened"]

[Text] Lieutenant General A. Makashov, military commandant of the city of Yerevan, has supplied your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent with information received by the commandant's office from the Armenian SSR MVD. It shows that cases of looting in the disaster zone have become more frequent in recent days.

L. Tadevosyan, Kh. Ibasyan, L. Koregyan, V. Arutyunyan, and D. Gasparyan, for example, have been arrested for theft in the city of Leninakan. G. Adzhamyan, who has a criminal record, was arrested while attempting to steal from the ruined building of the Gosbank branch in Spitak.

Quite often people who arrived in the disaster zone from other regions soon after the earthquake are being charged with looting. During a check carried out at km 7 on the Leninakan-Maralik road three telephones, a minicomputer, several men's jackets, and other items were discovered in a sack belonging to R. Badalyan, an inhabitant of the city of Oktemberyan. They had been stolen, it turned out, from a pharmacy in Leninakan. On 12 December A. Babayan, an inhabitant of the city of Abovyan who had taken watches and gold ornaments from corpses, was arrested at the Palace of Sports in Kirovakan.

These and similar cases have forced Lieutenant General Yu. Kuznetsov, military commandant in the disaster zone, to tighten up access, to restrict entry to the regions of destruction, and to step up the protection of important installations in the cities of Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and Stepanavan.

Internal Affairs Officials on Looting

LD1712223388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with U.S. Arutyunyan, Armenian minister of internal affairs, and V.P. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, by corresponden Ye. Nikonov; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Nikonov] [Name indistinct] and Vasiliy Petrovich, how is the campaign against looting in the areas struck by the earthquake now being conducted?

[Arutyunyan] The fact is that from the very 1st days, literally from the very 1st minutes, there were very many locations in the disaster area where there were items of material value which were not protected because of the destruction. During the 1st day, the leadership of the republic's ministry of internal affairs took the appropriate measures. As a result of these measures, more than 650 facilities in the disaster area were given wider protection. For these purposes, use was made of the resources of the republic's ministry of internal affairs, of additional forces that had come to assist from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as of the resources of the internal troops which, together with the staff of the republic's ministry of internal affairs, protect the facilities mentioned above. Unfortunately, however, repeated cases of robbery and theft both of personal property and of public and state property took place during this period. Overall, 39 criminal cases have been instituted against 41 individuals throughout the republic. I'll give you one case as an example: On 12 December citizen Babayan, born in 1962, a resident of Abovyan, was arrested at the Kirovakan sports palace. He had removed a Chayka watch, a pair of gold earrings, and a gold pendant from the bodies of people who had died in the earthquake and had seized, at the same time, a bag containing medical supplies.

[Trushin] On 11 December a demonstration—if it can be called that, in essence it was a mass antisocial mob—was provoked and it ended, I would say, with active resistance to the law enforcement bodies, with an attack on the law enforcement bodies with sticks, stones, and bottles. Of course, we were obliged to use all measures in order to prevent these events from developing and to arrest the active participants. Among those arrested were leaders and active members of the Karabakh committee: (?Khachevsobalsyan), (?Arshak Sodoyan), and several others. A criminal case has been instituted against these and other activists of this committee which has been banned by a decision of the republic's supreme soviet presidium. An investigation is now being carried out and each of them will undoubtedly get what he deserves.

Armenian Official on Aid

LD1712135888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Interview with E.A. Aykazyan, permanent representative of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, by station correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova at Armenia's permanent mission attached to the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Chemodanova] Eduard Asaturovich, how do you assess the aid to stricken Armenia?

[Aykazyan] Aid is being given on a very large scale and very vigorously, and here one can only express words of gratitude. Everyone is helping us. This help is specific and takes the form of equipment, of people who travel to

the places stricken by the earthquake and who, by their personal involvement, are helping us eliminate the aftermath of the terrible tragedy.

We are receiving aid not only from Soviet people but also from abroad. A very large amount of aid is being provided by the socialist countries. We are also receiving a great deal of aid from other countries. In particular, we are receiving a very great deal of medical equipment and many medicines. We are also being sent prefabricated houses. I have to tell you that without such aid it would be difficult to hold out.

[Chemodanova] Eduard Asaturovich, in this complicated situation in Armenia there are, unfortunately, dishonest people who are trying to discredit this aid.

[Aykazyan] Well, first of all this is arousing universal indignation. These are dishonest people—I would say they are enemies of our people. They do not have the right today, when the entire people are suffering, to discover some reason or invent some situation to divert our attention from today's most important matter, the matter of giving assistance to Armenia. I think that the people understand all this. Any versions to the effect that the aid being sent to Armenia is allegedly not reaching its destination—and such things are being said, after all—all this is untrue and does not correspond to reality. I repeat that this can be done only by people who essentially are against us, against our people, and against our country.

[Chemodanova] There are instances of pillage, when clothing and valuables are removed from the dead. Rumors are being spread which destabilize the situation. Transport is hampering the relief work. Evidently, some measures must be taken.

[Aykazyan] Today the most vigorous measures are being taken against these manifestations. Here the militia and the Army are helping us. A very strict procedure for the passage of persons has been established in the zones of the natural disaster—in Leninakan, in Kirovakan, in Spitak, and in Stepanavan. The only people going there are those who are needed and who must of necessity be there.

[Chemodanova] The permanent mission of the Armenian SSR attached to the USSR Council of Ministers is at present extremely busy, particularly now.

[Caller Petrosyan] Hello! Garri Petrosyan.

[Chemodanova] There are a great many rumors. Evidently, there are people who say that the earthquake was organized, that a bomb was exploded, that the children to whom people want to give assistance are being taken out of Armenia, and that the intention is simply to somehow weaken the nation and dissolve it.

[Petrosyan] In no circumstances; we disagree with this, we radically disagree with this. This is untrue. This is a small circle of people who are spreading disinformation. Such a thing is not possible. The children are being taken in order to help temporarily, to fix them up; they will quiet down and then they will return without fail when things have settled and everything has been rebuilt. We believe in this. We know about this. We are seeing everything before our eyes. To the entire world, and especially to the Muscovites we say: Thank you very much from everyone, thank you very much.

'Thugs' Turn Back Aid Convoy

PM1612123388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 4

[Report by our own correspondent D. Melikov: "Who Benefits?"]

[Text] Baku—In these anxious days for Armenia, the telephones are ringing constantly at the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondents center in Baku. They tell of condolences telegrams, the collection of money for the fund to aid the victims, and the dispatch of medicine, construction materials, and fuel. There is nothing special about this—this is the way it should be, according to the laws of our fraternity. At all times and in all lands disasters have always united people and brought states and peoples together in difficult times.

But this morning's call to the center told of something quite different. The call was from the "Azneft" association: Drivers and gas welders dispatched to the disaster zone to give assistance to the victims have returned....

"What do you mean, returned?" I asked, bewildered.

The speaker at the other end of the line stopped short, unwilling to continue. After a long pause, Akif Allakhyarovich D.hafarov, "Azneft" chief and hero of socialist labor, literally squeezed the words out: "How shall I say, the guys were asked to leave...."

The situation was one that I had to see and hear for myself. So there we were in the small office of the "Azneft" association Bibi-Eybatskoye production transport administration. Opposite us were the "returnees": "Tatra" 47-96 AGA driver Mikhail Areshev, "Tatra" 49-05 driver Sergey Savaskulov, and "Azmorneftestroy" trust gas welders Vladimir Lozovan and Rafik Kuzakhmedov. They had in front of them their travel documents, which showed that they had left Baku on 9 December. Thus, they had returned without working a single hour, even a single minute in Armenia. Why?

"Shall we start at the beginning?" Mikhail Areshev asked. "The convoy of cranes and heavy trucks from Azerbaijan was formed on the border between the two republics. We were the last in the convoy. We were accompanied by an armored transporter in front, the

police alongside us, and state motor vehicle inspectorate personnel at the rear. Why the convoy was arranged like this soon became clear, after we entered Armenian territory. There were threats, abuse, the waving of fists, and so on fron passing cars. We traveled through the night to Leninakan. Between Spitak and Leninakan the road had collapsed and our convoy came to a halt: Cars coming the other way were let through. Suddenly our vehicles were attacked by thugs brandishing spade handles. Get -back to Azerbaijan, we don't need your help, they shouted. The convoy was soon moving again and we were able to shake off the hooligans for a while."

Here Vladimir Lozovan picked up the story: "The convoy reached Leninakan in the morning." "The cranes were taken away, and we were told to wait. But as soon as the military left us, our vehicles were surrounded by thugs. They could tell from the vehicle numbers that we were from Azerbaijan.

"'Work and we'll kill you.' One of them told me: 'It's your good fortune that you're a Russian; if you don't work we won't touch you.'

"Then they attacked Rafik Kuzakhmedov. You're a darky, they said. He explained that he was a Tatar. But they really laid into him. You're still a Muslim, they said, we'll kill you....

"Mikhail Areshev is an Armenian, while Sergey and I are Russians.

"The military came over from their post and said:

"'You guys, you're causing trouble, you'd better move on....'

"We asked a police officer to show us the way to the station. He got into the cab and we set off. But when he learned we were from Baku he stopped the vehicle:

"'I have to get out here....'

"We stopped, and immediately the vehicle was surrounded by thugs....

"We decided to have a heart-to-heart with them. We said: 'Dear, sweet people, we come to you with honest intentions; there are gas cylinders in the back, and welders in the cab. And they really need them there; what tragedy there is all around.' But they would not listen; they appeared deranged. They grabbed sticks, rocks.... So we came back."

"There is no way do we believe that this is being done on behalf of the Armenian people," Rafik Kuzakhmedov said. "No, the people are occupied with their tragedy. But it is surprising that it is not being stopped. It's beyond me that anyone could speculate on such a tragedy. Do they not see that all their pointless malice and hatred are not worth the breath of a single saved Armenian child?"

Politburo Commission Continues Work in Armenia

Holds 16 Dec Session

PM1712201588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission: Courage and Organization in Response for Concern"]

[Text] The reports that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has approved the USSR Council of Ministers proposals on large-scale aid to the population of the earthquake-hit Armenian SSR and the news that the CPSU Central Committee has adopted a special resolution on the targeted allocation of R50 million for those needs from the CPSU budget have been received with a sense of profound gratitude and responsibility in the affected regions and throughout the republic. It is not just a question of the amounts involved, nor is it merely a matter of fully compensating for material losses. People understand that behind the terse wording of these two reports lie the moral nature of our system itself, social justice in action, and the mutual assistance and responsiveness of our people—wherever they live, whatever their nationality—and finally the vital link between the party and its people.

At a routine working conference of the 16 December CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission chaired by N.I. Ryzhkov, reports were delivered by the following: F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; E.S. Gabriyelyan, Armenian SSR minister of health; R.A. Minasyan, Armenian SSR minister of housing and municipal services; Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and a USSR minister; G.G. Kudryavtsev, USSR first deputy minister of communications; U.S. Arutyunyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; and Yu.P. Batalin and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted that the situation in the disaster regions is entering a new phase: As the urgent emergency tasks of rescuing people, providing them with shelter and food, and maintaining health and public order are being resolved, other, longer-term tasks are becoming priorities. Providing employment for the male population, supplying construction organizations with a considerable quantity of local cadres because of the drastically increased amount of work facing them, rebuilding enterprises, searching for children separated from their parents by the disaster, organizing Armenian-language schools in the rest homes and sanatoriums to which the

children have been evacuated.... Life is triumphing, life is returning to normal, albeit with difficulty and sometimes agonizingly; but life must be rebuilt.

On the basis of the reports from the leaders of the republic's Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, and the Ministry of Health as well, in light of the acquaintance with the local situation, the commission concluded that the tasks given to those departments are being fulfilled more successfully than previously. At the same time, they were asked to intensify their coordination in maintaining health in the disaster zone and ensuring the strict monitoring of the quality of drinking water and to provide reliable protection against infection. Communications workers are stepping up the pace in fulfilling the commission's assignment. In the past 24 hours they have installed 8 mobile exchanges in rural rayons covering 159 population centers. Some 260 communications channels with Moscow have been installed, as have another 500 with various parts of the country.

The commission is monitoring progress in eliminating the aftereffects of the earthquake in the countryside. Day by day the technical base of the repair work is being reinforced. After the departure of townspeople, rural inhabitants—women, the elderly, and children—are more readily agreeing to temporarily leave their homes. Some 800 people have been moved out in 24 hours. In addition to the supply of clothing, blankets, and food, it has been decided to ship coal to the countryside as a matter of urgency for heating the tents and yurts. In accordance with yesterday's instruction 60 disinfection centers have begun working in the countryside. The equipment used in repair work is fully supplied with fuel. An order has been given to accelerate the supply of construction materials here to repair damaged housing and build new housing.

If it is right to compare routes—in the air and on the ground—with arteries, that comparison is doubly justified here nowadays. Little, disaster-stricken Armenia seems to have been given extra access to the mighty life-support system of the entire country. The flow of freightcars, freight, and equipment does not cease for a minute. Thirty-two heavy cranes with a lifting capacity of between 40 tonnes and 125 tonnes have just arrived, and large new consignments of excavators, bulldozers, and dump trucks are on their way. At the commission's working conference itself they read out the decision of the Volga truck plant's collective to send 500 Zhiguli cars to the affected regions of Armenia free of charge. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission recommended that they be given to the operational staff working in the earthquake zone and to construction organizations, and also that some of the vehicles be allocated to the editorial offices of city and rayon newspapers located in the disaster areas.

The republic's Minister of Internal Affairs reported that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission's instruction on instilling order in the protection, transport, and distribution of the freight arriving at airports is being carried out in full. Measures have been taken to ensure the unconditional observance of public order in cities where rescue and repair work is being carried out.

The working conference took note of the fact that the commission's instruction on organizing the reception, work, and daily lives of the foreign citizens who have come to help us eliminate the aftereffects of the earthquake has been fulfilled.

The psychological atmosphere in the disaster zone is changing. The involvement and thoughtful attention of the country and the party, clearly reflected in yesterday's reports on the large-scale measures of material support, are helping people to recover their spirits and gain confidence in the future. The bombastic organizers of nonstop rallies and meetings in the past are now "redundant" bankrupts who inspire no confidence. It is not words but deeds which now decide who has true authority and which determine people's mood. The well-organized departure of children, women, and the elderly to rest areas is continuing virtually uninterrupted. In the past 24 hours alone, 7,435 people have left. People's sense of caution has given way to a sense of sincere gratitude for the solution offered.

It was announced at the working conference that the first Armenian-language schools for children from the earthquake regions have begun operating in Adler and in the Armenian spa town of Arzni. It is planned to open schools of this type at several sanatoriums in Georgia on 17 December. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission instructed the republic's Ministry of Public Education to urgently provide groups of Armenian teachers and to send them together with the ministry's executives to those regions where a network of temporary schools for the victims is being developed. Note was taken of the report that the country's trade unions have prepared another 45,000 places for evacuees at sanatoriums in the Ukraine and the Black Sea region in addition to the existing places. A decision has been taken to place students from four VUZ's in Leninakan and Kirovakan in educational institutions in Armenia.

It was noted that thousands of citizens from Armenia and other parts of the country are expressing a readiness to adopt those orphaned by the earthquake. People's noble and pure-hearted gestures are understandable; they must be properly assessed, and valued. However, before the future of each child is settled, all measures must be taken to find its parents or other relatives. Specific instructions in this regard have been given to the V.I. Lenin children's fund, the Komsomol, trade unions, and the republic's press, television, and radio.

During the examination of progress in preparing the general plan for the rebuilding of Leninakan and other cities and villages in the zone, it was stressed that it is necessary to accurately coordinate these projects with the precise data of the seismic situation in the region, as well as to ensure that the architecture of population

centers unfailingly reflects Armenian national traditions. The plans and models of the future cities and villages will be subjected to broad discussion, it has been decided, and all this work will be conducted in an atmosphere of complete glasnost.

On the same day, N.I. Ryzhkov; N.N. Slyunkov; B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, visited a number of areas in Leninakan where repair work is being carried out.

They went to the site of the "Kompressor" plant, where there were 617 people in the enterprise's shops and outbuildings at the moment of the catastrophe. Some 397 survived. Many of them are now taking part in removing the rubble and preparing a site for the construction of new buildings and the rebirth of the plant. The collective is rallying again. The machine builders and other workers who have come to help them reported to the commission members on how work is progressing and told them frankly about the things that are preventing work from proceeding more quickly and effectively. In particular, they complained of a lack of bulldozers, dump trucks, excavators, and loading equipment.

The exacting discussion of shortcomings in the organization of rescue and repair work continued at the city headquarters for eliminating the aftereffects of the earthquake. Leaders of city organizations, construction workers, and military men took part. N.I. Ryzhkov was in direct contact from the headquarters with L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab, who is in Yerevan, and instructed him to take urgent measures to accelerate the supply of the equipment that is lacking.

In the evening in Yerevan there was a meeting of members of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences in which Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; a number of members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, and the presidents of a number of union republic academies of sciences participated.

There was an examination of the tasks facing the country's scientists in the scientific backup for the whole range of questions connected with eliminating the aftereffects of the earthquake as well as measures to increase the effectiveness of the seismological service in the Transcaucasian republics.

N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, and S.G. Arutyunyan took part in the work of the meeting.

Commission Hears Statements

LD1712002188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission dealt with the following:

[Begin video recording; Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Yazov are shown listening to people making statements before them]

[Unidentified man making statement to commission] Yesterday 135 people were recovered from the debris. Of these, 21 were saved. Yesterday 110 people were recovered in Leninakan as well, in Leninakan alone—110 people. Of them 20 turned out to be alive. One man was found alive in Spitak. Furthermore, owing to the fact that this man was found alive, the rescuers—they had wanted to pack in their work—have decided to continue for another 10 days.

[Unidentified correspondent] It is difficult. Fewer and fewer people are being saved with every passing day. This great disaster will not be giving anyone a respite for a long time to come.

Do you know what was the next question that was heard by the Politburo commission? It dealt with the building of hundreds of temporary toilets. Sanitary standards are once again a matter of life and death in the destroyed towns.

[Unidentified man making statement to commission] According to yesterday's figures, there are no infectious diseases there yet. But, of course, this does not rule out the possibility of their appearing in the future, taking into account that many aspects of sanitary and epidemiological protection—the epidemiological situation—have not yet been resolved...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Generally we would very much like you to weigh up once again what has to be done in order to prevent any epidemics from breaking out. Because 8 days have passed, decomposition is now beginning to occur. Dmitriy Timofeyevich was in Leninakan yesterday and says that soldiers and people are starting to work in gas masks. We understand what may happen next. Rodents may carry all this about and infect the locality, infect the water, and other things and so forth. This is a most dangerous business. Say what you need, let's organize the fight against the rodents and the disinfecting work. You are experts, after all. You understand what is required in such conditions. If you need help, say so. We will give you help. If you are coping yourselves, I ask you to keep things under control at all times. This is the chief danger that is approaching us. We must avert this danger.

[Man] We will definitely do this, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Ryzhkov] Thank you.

[Slyunkov] Maybe we should be thinking things over, seeking advice on and changing the current procedures for burials from those that were established in the first

few days. Even then the procedures were not very good, as it were. Now that 8 days have passed, maybe we should review and examine this and define more precisely burial procedures.

[Man] Nikolay Nikitovich, we will present our recommendations to the local authorities and the headquarters for this work to be stepped up.

[Ryzhkov] Report to Fadey Tachatovich [Sarkisyan] on this matter. These are his affairs. He should take charge of them.

[Correspondent] The next to speak was a representative from the Foreign Ministry. He discussed the confusion in the work with groups of foreign rescuers. It was a strange speech.

[Unidentified Foreign Ministry representative] There is a lack of proper organization when the groups are received. Their potential is patently not being fully used. The foreign groups are trying to arrange independently the coordination of their people at the local level. This has been the case in Leninakan and Spitak. Just yesterday a coordinating meeting of foreign representatives was held in Yerevan with our Red Cross representatives taking part.

[Ryzhkov] Excuse me, when did you come here?

[Representative] I came on Monday, in the night of Monday, the 12th.

[Ryzhkov] On Monday. But when did the foreigners arrive here?

[Representative] The foreigners came earlier.

[Ryzhkov] Why didn't you arrive before Monday?

[Representative] A decision was made by a group headed by Comrade Nikiforov at the Foreign Ministry to send me specifically here.

[Ryzhkov] I see. I am not talking on an individual basis about your coming or being late. Why did the Foreign Ministry take so long in this matter? Surely you understand that the situation here is such that we really could not pay proper attention to the foreigners who are working here? You should have taken charge here. How many people are there at the republic's Foreign Ministry?

[Representative] Very few.

[Ryzhkov] How many then?

[Representative] Twelve people.

[Ryzhkov] Twelve people.

[Representative] Even fewer than 12.

[Ryzhkov] There are apparently several thousand of you. You could have sent about 20 people and interpreters here. It's even impossible to find an interpreter here.

How could you just sit there and daydream? Instead of holding briefings and citing mythical figures, it would have been better to have dealt with this matter properly. I will tell you that you have been of no benefit here. You have not helped at all. And now you say everything is badly organized. Yes, we know ourselves that the work with foreigners was poor. They are doing great things here, very great things. They have helped a great deal. The teams that departed today—we know that some teams are leaving with heavy hearts, not because they have seen what has been going on here but because the attention they received was so inadequate. No one even talked to them. There were simply no interpreters. There was no communication at all.

So, shouldn't you have taken charge of this problem? Evidently you have satisfied yourself that this is the situation here now. That is the situation today on the 8th day. But what was it like on the 1st day and the 3d day when the foreigners arrived? Generally, we are not satisfied with the work of the Foreign Ministry and the group headed by Comrade Nikiforov. We are not satisfied.

[Representative] It is proposed that an integral mechanism of cooperation be set up both in Yerevan and locally, at three locations, Kirovakan, Leninakan, and Spitak. This will be...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] It will take too long to set up a mechanism. Work has to be done. The mechanism will be set up if you work. How many people from Moscow have you involved right now? How many have flown here?

[Representative] A group of three has arrived.

[Ryzhkov] Three people. What is that out of 1,500?

[Representative] Fifteen interpreters have arrived. Fifteen interpreters...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] You have hundreds of interpreters there, hundreds. Couldn't you give them special clothing and bring the interpreters here? Why were the foreigners here on the 2d and 3d days, but why did you only arrive on the 8th day?

If you are in a position to organize, organize things today. If you are not in a position to do so, then it would be better to say: I am not in a position to do this. Telephone Comrade Nikiforov and say: The situation is such that I am not in a position to act. Let Comrade Nikiforov fly here and direct the headquarters here, here and not there in Moscow.

When we were in Spitak with Mikhail Sergeyevich we were traveling along and we saw some French tents. We stopped and went up to them. We only just found an interpreter. It's true, he ran up then. A young French man who is studying in our country in Moscow did the interpreting. He did the interpreting in broken Russian.

And you are offering us some sort of system here on the 8th day. There is only one system. There can be no formalism here today. We have to work. Take a look; we are not writing a thing down on paper, because there is no time to write on paper; there is no time to write. We have to operate like this. Once it has been said, go and work. What you have been told I ask you....

[Representative] Nikolay Ivanovich, all this will be reported, passed on, so to speak, and we will start working.

[Ryzhkov] Good. [end recording]

Ryzhkov Tours Leninakan

LD1712021088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent A. Tikhomirov] Tough talk, but our usual red tape can be seen running right through the situation today, just as clearly as the inside of a house can be seen when the walls are destroyed. The most difficult situation remains in Leninakan. Thousands of tents have been put up in the squares, away from the large fragments of walls that are hanging down and waiting to disintegrate. The number of cranes that have been brought here by aircraft is already rising above 500. Rescue teams are arriving from all over the country and from abroad. How terrible is the scale of the destruction! It cannot be taken in at a glance. [video show interiors of homes seen through damaged walls, tents pitched in streets, buildings in ruins]

The Leninakan compressor works stood here until 7 December.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] And the chief engineer, is he alive?

[Unidentified man] He is alive; the chief engineer did not die.

[Ryzhkov] And the director?

[Unidentified man] The director died.

[Ryzhkov] He died.

[Unidentified man] And the chief engineer, he flew to... [changes thought] he was on a business trip to Moscow; I came back with him on the 8th. His wife and his father were killed. He buried his wife yesterday, and his father hasn't been found yet.

They are looking for the father. But we assembled 155 people here today, former workers at this factory. They were here, today—helping, living, individual people—already helping us to deal with specific things at the works.

[Ryzhkov] What you have to do now is to create a collective.

[Unidentified man] That's it!

[Ryzhkov] You have to create the same collective, you have to create a working atmosphere.

[Unidentified man] Yes, yes, yes, there's a cell there already, there's a secretary of the Komsomol, the party organization, a woman named (Lavra), a very good woman, a fighter. She's spent literally days here, from the very 1st day, helping and doing things.

[Ryzhkov] You have to take hold of this collective and work; today you have to work at demolition, tomorrow you have to work at construction, and the day after tomorrow, you have to move on to production.

[Unidentified man] We have another works here, Nikolay Ivanovich, one that produces domestic instruments.

[Ryzhkov] There are 337 people—let them work.

[Unidentified man] It's 397, actually.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, 397, let them work on shifts, as necessary; they have to be paid. It must be normal work.

[Unidentified man] We have a second works making domestic electrical instruments which received hardly any damage, which we will repair within 2 weeks. Some of the people from this works are being transferred there. It used to make irons and prams, and we are now creating the right conditions there. [words indistinct]

[end recording] [video shows Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan arriving at a damaged factory site and spcaking with an unidentified official there]

[Tikhomirov] If one can put it like this, islands of stability have nevertheless come into being in Leninakan. But against this, how many hotbeds of muddle and confusion still persist, maintained by people's haste and feelings of tragedy?

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man] (?The teams are rushing at it). They do not know what to do. What's needed is a leader who will say what has to be taken down and what put up, who needs the crane, who the bulldozer, who the vehicle, [words indistinct].

[Ryzhkov] Is there a senior man here in this house?

[Unidentified man] No!

[Second unidentified man] In no way—everyone does as he thinks fit.

[Ryzhkov] At this house, for example, is there one?

[Unidentified man] We have not seen a single senior man! People come, but we do not know who's in charge.

[Third unidentified man] That's right, this has to be decided....

[Fourth unidentified man, interrupting] There is a lot of equipment....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] And didn't they give you senior men here afterwards?

[Unidentified voices] Afterwards, no.

[Ryzhkov] Alright, someone really must look at this carefully.

[Unidentified man] There are dead here; my sister is lying here, and all we have is a crane. There's no loader, there's no excavator, there's nothing.

[Ryzhkov] Well, let's....

[Unidentified man, interrupting] There aren't any people [words indistinct], and where are these helpers who are coming here to help us?

[Second unidentified man] We steal excavators from each other; we fight between ourselves. [indistinct voices]

[Unidentified voice] We need additional help.

[Arutyunyan] They're saying that the work should be organized in shifts.

[Indistinct voices]

[Ryzhkov] Alright, let's move on. Alright, we'll go, we'll sort things out now, Comrades! All the best! Good-bye!

[Unidentified voice] Help us! [video shows Ryzhkov, with Slyunkov and ARutyunyan, talking to a group of men near heaps of rubble]

[Unidentified man] The immediate demolition of 600 units has to be carried out.

[Ryzhkov] How many?

[Unidentified man] Altogether 967 damaged facilities have been registered. Of these, 600 facilities are in a most serious condition. Among the 600 facilities, approximately 100 facilities are not primary ones.

[Ryzhkov] You have reported, the comrades have reported, that there is now someone responsible for each facility.

[Unidentified man] Yes.

[Second unidentified man] Nikolay Ivanovich, where is the difficulty?

[Third unidentified man] The town has been divided into five zones under the largest organizations—the Ukraine; the Ministry for Construction in the Urals and West Siberian Regions of the USSR; the Ministry for Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR; Belorussian; Kazakhstan; and the Ministry for Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR. Where detachments from one organization have gone to locations, there are no organizational questions at all. There everything is organized normally. But there are locations where we have quickly sent in an individual crane, an individual small team upon their arrival, because the dogs, say, may have shown that there are people there. There may be five or six different cranes. Even when someone responsible has been appointed, of course, the level of organization leave something to be desired.

[Ryzhkov] How many such units are there, mixed ones?

[Unidentified man] There are some. What are we, or rather, how have things been organized today?

[Ryzhkov] Just a minute. Today you and I have been to a factory that has been destroyed. My feeling was that there really was some organization there. There is a deputy minister there. There is an acting chief engineer, because the former director is dead. You can feel there that there is some organization of labor. They already know what collective they have—there are three hundred and ninety-something people in the collective there, so precise work is taking place there. Then we went over to an apartment building, and the picture there was completely different. This has to be sorted out. Clearly, the weak spot today was where housing is concerned. The people working there are the people who have relatives who have died, and there's no sense of any organization there.

[Unidentified man] That is quite correct. We were at that compressor works, and in the first place the collective of the works has been organized, and in the second

place there's just one trust at work—our own Razdanstroy trust. And certainly there aren't any organizational problems there. The problems there are difficult as far as putting together all the mechanisms is concerned, but from the point of view of management there are no problems. But there are housing sites where different organizations have brought in an apparatus, and of course there are these management problems there.

[Slyunkov] At every facility people say they're still short of some particular equipment, but if there was an organizer with this equipment, and if there was one coordinator who could make decisions, we would do more. You say that it's difficult, but what does difficult mean? If there's no coordinator, then it means we have to...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Well, let's think about it. There is a question, an objective question here. Because they have taken a crane, say, the residents know that there are still five corpses there, and they won't let the teams get within 2 meters. Let's think about how this must be done, with due consideration for the specific situation that has come about. Maneuvering, I feel, is really impossible; it's impossible to maneuver until we have brought out all those who have died.

[Unidentified man] [Word indistinct]

[Ryzhkov] How are we going to do it? They don't allow it. They won't allow them to move 2 meters.

[Unidentified voice] They lie down.

[Ryzhkov] Two meters. Here, he says, lie my relatives, and the crane won't move 2 meters until they're brought out. This realistically has to be taken into consideration. How are we going to provide proper organization in such a situation?

[Unidentified voice] We have all thrown ourselves into rescuing people, we have thrown in equipment. We have had to rescue people and deal with this, bring in excavators and loaders. [Words indistinct] but we had no transport. Now transport is coming. We will start digging around the house on all sides. A gentle slippage will begin and it will be easier for us to remove everything.

[Ryzhkov, speaking into telephone] (?Yuriy Alekseyevich), we are here in the headquarters at Leninakan. We're continuing the discussion we had this morning. How many dump trucks have arrived, new dump trucks, by rail from the manufacturers? [end recording]

[Tikhomirov] Tonight, immediately after the railway line had been repaired, dump trucks moved toward the disaster areas on flatbed trucks. The first consignment—as it became clear during the conversation—consisted of 150 dump trucks, to be added to the many hundreds of them that are already carrying away the rubble. More bulldozers, more excavators, more loaders.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] What we have to do now is to take capable production organizers from among the building workers, chief engineers of trusts, everyone who's available. We're now going away from here. Sort things out for every apartment building. Clearly the kind of disorder we've seen doesn't exist at every apartment block, for in some places things are organized. You have to determine how many houses there are where there is no organization of production. The very best people have to be thrown in there, the chief engineers; they will gradually take charge of things, in some places through kindness, and in some places they will have to force things, and so on. Equipment will arrive here. But you have to take charge. We cannot post an officer at every apartment building just to stand there with a machine-gun in his hands. That's not realistic. And it's not just that it's not realistic; it can't be done; it can't be done. You have to understand the state that those people there are in. At the same time, clearly, one has to act in such a way that people understand that this is being done for their own good. So choose the most capable people. Perhaps there are some people there in the works, perhaps some capable people can be taken away from there and sent here. Let their deputies do their jobs for them at home, you understand. I am convinced that this can be done. But it has to be done by very serious people, because we see what it's like in these houses; it's a totally different picture. There's one situation at the works, and then you go to the housing and the situation is totally different. And the psychological climate is totally different. At the works it's organized, it's precise, people know their tasks; they know when they've finished what they have to do next. But when you go to an apartment there are dreadful cries, they say they don't know anything, they do not have any equipment. We have a crane, we don't have a dump truck. It's utter confusion. Let's put it right. [end recording]

[Video show Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and Arutyunyan, wearing overcoats, seated at a table in a small room surrounded by other unidentified men discussing relief problems; on the table are charts and diagrams]

[Tikhomirov] Yes, the situation is a serious one. But only a week has gone by since the tragedy took place, since the earthquake occurred. A week. There must be more active work.

Commission Meets 17 Dec

LD1712195988 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 17 TASS—At a regular working meeting of the Politburo commission today, it was pointed out that the first and most acute stage of rescue operations is drawing to an end. Preparations are beginning for the rehabilitation of housing and rebuilding of factories and enterprises of the agri-industrial sector.

The meeting also dealt with a large amount of all-round preparatory work connected with the implementation of the Politburo-endorsed proposals made by the USSR Council of Ministers on giving large-scale aid to the Armenian earthquake victims.

Vasiliy Trushin, USSR first deputy interior minister, reported that, along with the maintenance of public order and control over the extremely intensive traffic in the earthquake-hit areas, the Interior-Ministry personnel and troops actively participate in rescue and rehabilitation work.

The situation in the earthquake-hit areas is calm. But the provocative fuss by representatives of the Karabakh committee does not cease even in this period which is the hardest for Armenia and for the entire country. Karabakh committee people are busy conducting instigatory talks in higher learning establishments and other institutions, and distributing leaflets calling for demonstrations and strikes. A number of committee leaders have been arrested and criminal proceedings have been instituted against them for stirring up ethnic hostility and strife, for spreading deliberately false assertions that denigrate the Soviet state system as well as for organizing and participating in group actions in breach of the public order.

Weather men warn that wet snow with wind are expected in the coming two days. Apart from everything else, this means that the evacuation of children, women and old men from the disaster area should be expedited. Over the past twenty four hours alone, 9,862 people were evacuated from the area. More than 24,000 quake victims have already been accommodated in holiday homes and health resorts.

At the working meeting the Armenian Health Ministry was instructed to consider and to submit proposals in the coming days about the establishment of a centre for the rehabilitation of people disabled by the earthquake.

The combining of efforts and contribution by federal ministries and departments to the revival of the socio-economic potential of the earthquake-hit region were also the subject of consideration at a meeting which was held here on the same day and was presided over by Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Army's Role in Relief Efforts Discussed

Work in Spitak Detailed

PM1612193388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan, F. Ivanov, and S. Taranov: "Place of Service—Spitak"]

[Text] The dreadful disaster that has befallen the Armenian people, alas, continues to ominously change its scale as the number of dead increases day by day. In the past 24 hours another 509 people have been pulled dead from the ruins. Just one person has been found alive. Bitter though it is to admit it, the hopes of a lucky find are getting nearer and nearer to zero.

It is not just material help that is reaching Armenia during these days which are full of grief but also of selfless and frenzied work. Many thousands of telegrams are pouring in, too. In time they will form an inimitable chronicle of compassion and nobility. But at the moment we are only citing a few lines from the letter of Sadokat Abullayeva, an 8-year-old girl from Shavatskiy Rayon in Khorezm Oblast in Uzbekistan. "I am 8," Sadokat says. "I have saved R10 and I was going to buy some books. But Armenia has suffered a disaster and I am sending it my R10. If you need blood I can give some." Thank you, Sadokat. Your rubles are as valuable the millions that Armenia is receiving today.

...Our journey takes us to the servicemen working in Spitak. To the Army camp. Soldiers with submachine-guns guard the entrance. They are protecting gold and silver goods, valuables worth in all over R500,000—all that was left of the jeweler's store destroyed by the earthquake in Spitak. The valuables were found and handed to the special commission by servicemen of the guard's airborne subunit—the first to arrive in the disaster zone. But the glitter of gold fades when you learn that in just 2 days—December 7 and 8—the airborne troops pulled 530 people out of the ruins alive and 700 dead.

The main topic of conversation today is the Army. Even though not a day passes without the newspapers writing about servicemen's involvement in rescue operations and other work, we think that more should be said about the Army. Here is why.

At a news conference given by members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission, a foreign journalist who had visited Leninakan and Spitak asked Defense Minister D.T. Yazov: Why are people in soldiers' greatcoats engaged only in patrolling the streets and highways while there don't seem to be any soldiers clearing away debris? In the first place, the minister answered, patrols are carried out by USSR MVD internal troops (whose task it is to protect public order in emergencies). Second, Army units are working in overalls without their insignia—a foreigner simply could not distinguish them from civilian specialists. The minister gave the following figure: On the day of the news conference there were 18,900 military servicemen working in the zone. Since then another 5 sapper regiments have joined them.

The headquarters of Lieutenant General Turovskiy, military commandant of Spitak, are housed in a number of vehicles and huts on the edge of a gully. It is crowded and noisy in the cramped quarters. It is not easy to push your way through to the general's desk.

"An interview? Ten minutes? I haven't got the time, lads, I haven't got the time...."

But then there was a telephone call from the command. And the commandant's report "to those upstairs" replaced the interview that never was.

It turned out that through the efforts of the Army, water has been supplied to the city, which was almost razed to the ground. A 35-km water pipe has been laid in 3 days. Servicemen have set up tents for 4,000 survivors from Spitak who have not yet been evacuated. Three times a day, field kitchens provide hot food for 1,500 people. Communications have been restored. A military hospital has been operating since day one, and another will soon be set up—for the needs of the Army units and, of course, the civilian population. The garment factory, where fabrics and finished goods worth R50 million were left, is under guard. Thousands of tonnes of grain are being sent from the elevators. The damaged roads around Spitak are being repaired. Day by day they are beginning to build a bridge.... By and large the most important thing—the city's vital services—have been restored. And it doesn't take long to figure out the price of all this: Just look at Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Yakovlevich Petushin, deputy commander for political affairs. His eyes are heavy from a lack of sleep and his cheeks are sunken.

"What kind of political work is going on in Spitak now?" we asked Petushin.

"There is no time for classes, and there is no point. Instead you have personal example and the principle of the militant commissars. Being there where things are difficult."

And it was difficult—very difficult!—everywhere. Both in the first few hours, when soldiers found the dying groaning and crying under the debris. And toward the evening and on to the next day when thousands of relatives of the victims descended on Spitak and the hideous piles of vehicles had to be cleared away, and rescue work and medical aid had to be organized. In those very difficult hours the soldiers worked without outside help, and anyway, what could despairing and weakened people do? But tears solve nothing. And the 18- and 19-year-old soldiers, who had never seen death before, rushed into the ruins, risking their lives, without the special skills gained from elementary experience, crawling into crevices and openings, and lifting concrete slabs which were terrifying even to approach.

At the airborne troops subunit we met with Guards Sergeants Volodya Argunov and Kolya Krasnov. Lt Col N. Safronov introduced them to us with pride: Our heroes! Today they were presented with the Komsomol Central Committee badge "For Labor Valor."

The young men worked around the clock in the debris. Krasnov rescued 10 people himself. With striking composure and fortitude he also pulled out the dead—the bodies of children who, at the moment of death, were sitting at their desks with pens and pencils in their hands. We were told that only Krasnov and a few other s volunteered for this distressing work.... For 11 consecutive hours Argunov did not leave an Armenian boy trapped under the slabs, and he rescued him. And a girl called Karina, and accountants at the garment factory, and.... You could say a lot about these young men. But here is one detail which tells it all. Both Vladimir and Nikolay should have been transferred to the reserves 8 days ago and gone home. They instead stayed with their unit. For How long?! "We'll stay as long as necessary" was the reply we heard. The words of true men....

Efforts in Leninakan Praised

PM1612151288 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Special correspondent Stanislav Kosterin report: "The Hero's Name Is: The Army"]

[Excerpts]

Leninakan—Chronicle

It was day 6 of the disaster when I left Leninakan—the epicenter of the earthquake. This city that no longer exists was still without water, light, and communications in the sense that we are accustomed to. But can we regard a city that is engaged in a fierce struggle solely as a name on a map? A struggle for those who might still be alive beneath the ruins. True, only isolated individuals were brought out from under the remains of apartment blocks and enterprises on the 6th day. A struggle for those who must be saved from the approaching cold weather and provided with housing and clothing. For children who have lost their parents and become orphans. For those who cannot be brought back, but who must be given the last rites according to the customs of every people and given a final resting place....

The disaster is great. Incalculable. But what is always the worst thing of all is for an individual to be alone with his grief. That is unendurable. But it is not happening here.

The city's name—Leninakan—has united all those in the world who can find in their hearts a response to another's anguish. This does not only take the form of official expressions of condolence. It takes material form in active detachments of rescue workers from many countries. Detachments of volunteers from every corner of our country. Aircraft, trains, and vehicles with cargoes of food, clothing, and machinery; donations of money. Tons of donor blood, which not only saves Armenians today, but makes them real blood brothers of nearly all our country's nationalities.

A real Popular Front—not a front of demonstrators and slogans sometimes acting as a cover, it cannot be denied, for the selfish interests of small groups of people—has formed in the world, in the country, in Leninakan. The Popular Front of charity.

In Leninakan today the confusion and chaos that sometimes appeared in the first days are increasingly giving way to organization in the elimination of the consequences of the disaster afflicting our country. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the earthquake regions brought a clear understanding of what must be done first of all, a political assessment of what happened, and a measure of everyone's responsibility. The fact that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium broke off his official visit to the United States and other countries was seen by people here not only as a sign of the state leader's concern, but also as a token of simple human grief for his people's fate. This brings us all together.

There are operational headquarters in Leninakan. Party and state headquarters. But there is also a force here that one cannot fail to notice because major hopes are pinned on it; there is an organization here that is rigorously disciplined in its work. Its name is the Army. Its regulations enshrine the duty to provide help in times of trouble. But is it in fact merely a matter of duty, what the Army did only recently in Chernobyl and what we are seeing here in Leninakan today? Our sons are in the Army, so let us describe the Army's participation in our sorrows not as an obligation, but as a filial duty.

The reports to the operational leadership military group that I read today are reminiscent of the military dispatches from the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. Laconic, inspiring hope.

In the 5 days since 7 December, in Leninakan army subunits:

deployed seven medical centers and a hospital—help was given to 6,000 people;

allocated 220 cranes, about 1,000 trucks, and 25 excavators to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, and put up 1,419 tents;

brought out 10,500 people from the ruins;

deployed two additional bakeries and is urgently deploying a third; organized 25 feeding stations; and brings in water.

All this is for everyone.

The terse reports become more substantial when you go to their sources. Not everything is yet known or available for wide dissemination, but what you do find out makes the Soviet soldier and officer a dear friend. [passage omitted]

Officers and Men

It has become customary for us to say: The prestige of officers and commanding officers in the Army is falling. There is "bullying" among soldiers. And the Army is, we say, no longer what it should be. For me, such discussions ended here in Leninakan. The military are among us; we judge them by our own behavior. They travel shoulder to shoulder with us, they rub shoulders with us in the bus or streetcar. They are as short of housing—sometimes more so—than we are. They too wait in line for food, and so do their wives. But unlike us, things happen to them that suddenly make them different. The hour of the oath, the hour of military duty comes to them. And in peacetime too. In Chernobyl, in Afghanistan, or in Leninakan. And then...

The first shocks brought down the garrison hospital in Leninakan and scattered the equipment. The military doctors spent hours finding it, putting it aright, and moving the operating theater elsewhere. Chief medical officer S.A. Shaporev did not tear himself away for a moment from his work, which would brook no delay. It was only 24 hours later that he managed to find his son. A.I. Baryshev, department chief at the hospital and secretary of its party organization, could not get away from the operating theater until too late. His daughter died. Surgeon D.K. Yusibov did 36 difficult operations in 36 hours....

Listening to this, you might think that these men in uniform have no nerves. But they do. The same as you and me. But what would happen to us, to the country, if they suddenly decided to put themselves first!

I was in Chernobyl, I was in Kabul, and I saw how the heart that sustains us all comes to the surface. In Leninakan that has happened repeatedly. [passage omitted]

In the blackness of night, I talked a long time with officer Mikhail Semenovich Surkov, political worker of the Transcaucasian Military District. At what bitter cost life sometimes tests the Army, its staunchness and fortitude, and ultimately all educational work. In Leninakan the Soviet soldier has taken on the hardest work, the worst jobs. He is saving people. Burying the dead. Maintaining order. Providing food and shelter, along with others. Stopping the looters.

It was unbearably difficult to leave Leninakan. Stacks of coffins at the side of the former streets... A strong smell of burning... Soldiers carrying dead bodies. You must understand them too. Their hearts too grieve and weep. But their hands... Their hands must work.

Yazov Deplores Need for Troops

PM1712191388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 1

[Special correspondents N. Varsegov and A. Lapin report: "Pain and Hope": "Work Goes on in the Disaster Zone. But It Is Not Only the Elements That Are in the People's Way"]

[Text] Yerevan—One of Vysotskiy's songs contains the following line: "How do people show their worth if there is no more war...." It is not war here, but you cannot call this situation peaceful, either—you cannot bring yourself to say the word. And people here are indeed showing themselves for what they truly are. We are going to cite just a few examples which cannot fail to impress you.

In the Yerevan commandant's office USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov sat face-to-face across the table from G. Khachatryan and A. Amruyan, two servicemen brought out of the reserves. Those two, along with many thousands more, were sent to work in Leninakan but, on only the 2d day after being called up, they had fled the ruined and bloodied city. The minister did not raise his voice, and he did not threaten them with a tribunal; he tried to understand these people. But it was no good. The two were released. I do not know what impression they took away with them from their first-ever meeting with a minister. But the aftertaste of that conversation will remain with us for a long time.

Here is another extreme of the tragedy that has been taking place in Armenia over the past few days. On that terrible day A. Asatryan, station master in Spitak, lost his son and daughter-in-law. Arshaluys Bagratovich's face is downcast and is one big bruise. But after burying his kin he was back at work the next day.

"This is where my house used to be," he said, pointing to the mounds of rubble and waving his hand bitterly. He then went back to work. Armenia is now supported by people like Asatryan—and they are the overwhelming majority. You can only admire people for whom there is no higher or more sacred concern than rescuing the victims and repairing their wounded native land.

There are other people, however. For them something else is important: to constantly maintain the tension, to provoke clashes with the forces of law and order, and to spread blasphemous rumors. And if the eyes of some are dimmed with tears of grief and the pain of loss or of compassion, for others blind fury overshadows all else.

"It is impossible to ignore this any longer," USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov told us in conversation. "Instead of sending all our manpower to help in rescuing victims from the cities and settlements, we are now being forced to divert a large number of military servicemen to keep order in Yerevan and other regions."

We know that after this is published there will again be telephone calls to the correspondents' center, and we shall hear threats against us. They will instruct us and warn us about what we should write and what we should ignore.

It goes without saying that most of the people we met today have been working in the disaster zone or at hospitals and airfields without sleep or rest. There is much more to be written about the mass altruism and selflessness that the Armenian people are demonstrating here now. But it is also time to assess those who have been exploiting the people's grief, doing nothing to help the victims, and trying to profit from adversity. How can you understand those people who have gone so far as to take children out into the square with them, who telephone people's apartments at night and warn them: "There is going to be an earthquake any moment now! Get out into the street!" And they use other rumors to try to cause panic! Time and again they issue their demands.

On the last occasion those people even tried to use children in their dirty work. A group of schoolchildren was approaching Lenin Square. Using them as a shield, some adults were following right behind them. Their scheme was a simple one: The soldiers would never use force against children. In that way they could cause disorders and get away with it.

It took soviet and party organs considerable effort to halt and caution these people.

For us it was important to understand what these troublemakers—members of the disbanded "Karabakh" committee—are after. As is well known, some of them are under administrative arrest. So we asked V.R. Nazaryan, the republic's prosecutor, to provide us with information and an opportunity to meet with them. However, he categorically rejected our request.

Baku Commandant Order on Health Services

LD1812115088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Order No 13 of the military commandant of Baku City Special District on creating a military commandant's office at the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Health, dated 16 December]

[Text] Many complaints and petitions are being received from residents of the city concerning health bodies' reception of patients and rendering of qualified medical aid. In the meantime, it is being pointed out that pharmacies in the city are not working satisfactorily. Prescriptions are being written in the Azeri language. This entails a crude violation of pharmacists' working regulations and makes medical issues more difficult. In order to supervise and regulate the work of the city pharmacists and health bodies, I order:

1. That Akhmed Mogamedovich Shikhabeddinov, colonel of medical service, be apponted assistant in charge of health problems of the military commandant of Baku City Special District, and that the organization of supervision over work of medical institutions be entrusted to him, and an office be set up for him at the building of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Health.

2. That a reception time, from 1700 to 1900, be designated at building No 4 of the republican ministry of health on Tadorskiy Street.

3. That the Azerbaijan SSR minister of health be instructed to convey the demands arising from this order to the subordinate heads of health establishments.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military ocmmandant of Baku City Special District

Medical Institutions Restored in Disaster Area

LD1712183088 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 17 TASS—The whole network of medical institutions has been restored in Armenia's quake-stricken northern areas by today. Emil Gabrielyan, Armenia's public health minister, said.

He said that public health care was completely paralyzed in the disaster areas. Many local doctors and medical staffers were killed in the earthquake. Doctors from Yerevan and other parts of Armenia were among the first to come to rescue. Soon, they were joined by medical teams from all over the Soviet Union and from abroad. In the first days of the natural disaster they evacuated serious patients and rendered first and specialized medical aid to the victims.

Along with this urgent work, medical workers were trying to organise medical care for the population near Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and Stepanavan. Thus, a central regional hospital with a full staff of doctors and junior medical personnel has been set up in Spitak.

Leninakan has two hospitals, 11 mobile clinics, 40 ambulance teams, 11 first-aid centers, 400 stomatological cabinets, eight drugstores, a sanitary-and-epidemiologic station and other medical services.

Clinics as well as obstetric and other medical stations are being restored in rural areas.

*Paper Updates Armenian Power Supply

WA1512094088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed Article: "Light and Power for the Victims"]

[Text] The Razdanskaya GRES which was damaged during the earthquake is currently producing 680,000 kw of power. All turbogenerators and two power-generating units are operational. Service water and gas supply have been reestablished at the Kirovakan TET's. Around-the-clock work is continuing to repair electric power lines to supply power for Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Dzhadzhura, Kaltakhchi and other Armenian cities. These facts were provided to the TASS correspondent by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

The underground shock caused vast damage to power supply facilities: Some substations were destroyed, the Kirovakan TET's was shut down, and electric power lines went out of service. Millions of Soviet TV viewers watched the victims spending the cold mountain nights around bonfires, and Kirovakan, Leninakan, and Spitak submerged in darkness. On 9 December, emergency measures carried out by power workers facilitated the provision of essential light and heat to blood transfusion and field kitchens, field hospitals, and firemen.

Power construction and installation workers are arriving with their own equipment in Armenia during these difficult days from all parts of the country. Eight brigades from Georgia have begun to restore electric power network installations. Special line and repair personnel, equipment and material are hurrying from Roston-on-Don, Stavropol, Kharkov, Lvov, Alma-Ata, and Chimkent. The people and machinery are directed immediately to where urgent help is called for. Over 2,500 other power workers with their construction equipment and supplies are prepared to depart on a moment's notice.

Yerevan-Moscow Railway Resumes Traffic

LD1712145688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1203 GMT 17 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[text] The regular traffic of passenger trains over the entire Yerevan-Moscow line, which was broken off by the earthquake 10 days ago, has resumed. An entire section was restored in record time.

More on Foreign Aid to Quake Area

Gerasimov on Relief Effort

LD1612174488 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—Up to this time proposals to render aid to quake victims in Armenia were received from 70 states, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

The USSR has already received 128 planeloads from 37 countries with various machinery to clear the debris, medical equipment, medicines, food and warm clothing. Now 2,023 foreign specialists work in Yerevan, Kirovakan, Leninakan and Spitak.

Speaking at the briefing, Vladimir Meskinyants, a representative of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, noted that shipments of various goods for Armenia had increased 5-6 times on the first days after the earthquake. The republic unloads daily over 1,200 railway cars. Deliveries of priority goods were established. Apart from machinery for clearing the debris and fuel, warm tents and prefabricated wooden houses are brought first of all.

Asked when restoration work starts at the stricken area, Fikryat Tabeev, head of the centre of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers on rendering assistance to the Armenian population, said: "Clearing of the debris will go on till the last injured or dead person is extracted from under the rubble. Work on restoring cities and villages will start only after this."

Eduard Aykazyan, permanent representative of the Armenian Council of Ministers at the USSR Council of Ministers, refuted rumours that there were difficulties in delivering goods via Azerbaijan. He pointed out that nearly all goods shipped by rail went through the Azerbaijani territory. Some planes with cargoes for the quake victims, which Armenian airports are unable to receive, land at the Baku airport.

Ryzhkov Expresses Thanks for Aid

LD1712182688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The Armenian people did not end up alone in their time of need. The whole country has come to its assistance. [passage omitted] The victims are also being helped by numerous ministries, pubic organizations, and foreign states. Here is what Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had to say on this subject during an interview given to the latest "Novosti" and "Mayak" correspondents:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] I can see the sheer surge of activity among our people. People really are giving everything to help these people. Therefore, I extend sincere gratitude to the Soviet people and to all who are taking part—those who have expressed kind words and those who are rendering some kind of material assistance to cope with this disaster. I would also like to express sincere gratitude to all citizens abroad, to government and state leaders, and our appreciation to businessmen. It is not only states that are sending specific assistance here, but well-known firms as well. I can sense that they are helping a very great deal, and our gratitude goes to all abroad who are currently rendering assistance. This assistance is both necessary and, most importantly, it is lending spiritual support to all those affected. [end recording]

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov Meet UN Official

LD1812184688 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 18 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received Sverre Kilde, an envoy of the United Nations secretary-general, here today in view of the arrival of a plane bringing the necessary materials and equipment to Yerevan from the U.N. disaster relief depots.

The Soviet side expressed gratitude for the humane act of the U.N. Natural Disaster Emergency Relief Centre.

Matters concerning cooperation in arranging large-scale rescue operations as well as some aspects of planning preparatory and preventive measures to reduce the destructive effects of possible natural disasters and industrial accidents were touched upon during the conversation in which Politburo member and Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committees Nikolay Slyunkov and First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Suren Arutyunyan took part.

Ryzhkov Meets Red Cross Official

LD1712191588 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 17 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, Soviet prime minister and head of the Politburo commission overseeing the relief operations in Soviet Armenia, received Paer Stenbaeck, visiting secretary-general of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (LORCS), in Yerevan today. Also present was Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo commission.

The conversation passed in a friendly atmosphere. It was emphasized that the aid rendered to the quake-stricken Armenian population through the International Red Cross had been prompt, well-organised and deserved high praise.

Nikolay Ryzhkov thanked Paer Stenbaeck for the humanitarian aid and briefed him on the preliminary results of the rescue operations in the disaster areas. He noted that the focus of the relief effort will soon shift to restoration work which was the subject of a meeting of leaders of union ministries held in Yerevan on Saturday.

For his part, Stenbaeck emphasized the need for closer and more effective coordination of international relief operations during natural disasters. He praised the promptness and flexibility of the Soviet Union in making relief decisions and noted the impressive ability of Soviet planes to make large-scale airlifts.

The sides considered it reasonable if the International Red Cross concentrated its future aid to Armenia on building a modern hospital and a prothesis [as received] plant.

Taking part in the conversation were Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of Armenia's Council of Ministers, and Dmitriy Venediktov, head of the executive committee of the Union of Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Nikiforov on Foreign Aid

LD1712232788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Nikiforov by correspondent Vadim Lobachenko at the Foreign Ministry headquarters for coordinating foreign aid to Armenia; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vadim Lobachenko] We are at the headquarters of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs for coordinating aid from foreign states to the population of Armenia, victims of the dreadful disaster. The headquarters is headed by Valentin Mikhaylovich Nikiforov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR.

[Begin recording] [Nikiforov] First I would like to note the enormous scale of the aid being received from the Soviet people. A commission set up by the Politburo, with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov at its head, is on the spot. All ministries and departments have been brought into action. A large amount of aid is coming in from foreign countries too. The headquarters set up at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now recording this aid. Aid has been received in various forms, and offers have been received from 77 countries, plus UNESCO. All this aid has been organized in flights, both by Aeroflot and aircraft belonging to foreign states: 146 such flights have arrived by today. The majority of them go directly to Yerevan and Leninakan, and the money, equipment, and medical supplies and apparatus of various kinds are already put at more than $100 million.

[Lobachenko] The overseas specialists who have come to give assistance to the Soviet people are displaying genuine compassion. What assistance are you giving these specialists?

[Nikiforov] Around-the-clock work at the headquarters means information coming in from overseas—we know who is coming, who is coming by air, by what means. Visa questions are resolved immediately. Communications are running through to Yerevan or other points where there is a requirement.

[Lobachenko] And these are always put into the computer as I understand it?

[Nikiforov] Yes. We have all the information, which we use ourselves. We provide the information to the ministries and departments, and to the council of ministers of the republic.

[Lobachenko] Are your specialists working in Armenia?

[Nikiforov] Yes, and first and foremost it is consular workers who have been sent; three are working providing assistance to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, and there are some working in Batumi in order to resolve visa questions on the spot. Some of our consular workers are also at Sheremetyevo, and some have been sent to other airports where overseas flights carrying aid can land. In addition, of course, we immediately dispatched interpreters who had the task... [changes thought] Fifteen were required and are working there, and senior staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for communications with Armenia's local leadership and the foreign groups are arriving to give assistance. Interpreters with Armenian as their native language are required there. We have agreed, therefore, with Armenia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and students from the Moscow State Institute for Foreign Relations have been dispatched to provide assistance. There are 62 people already working there. Our workers abroad, in the embassies, are collecting currency and sending it to the account announced by the Vneshekonombank for aid for the victims in Armenia. [end recording]

Red Cross Official on Relief

LD1612212388 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 16 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Yegorov reports:

"The provision of medical aid to earthquake victims and sanitary works in the stricken areas are the main tasks of the relief operations in Soviet Armenia today." Dmitriy Venediktov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, told a new conference organised by the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (LORSC) here today.

Venediktov thanked 37 national Red Cross organisations from Bulgaria, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Cuba, the United States, Denmark and other countries for their help. He emphasized that Armenia no longer needed the aid of new foreign medical teams with the exception of specialists in very narrow fields. He said Soviet doctors needed specific types of equipment, including the artificial kidney machines."

"Now, we feel a greater need for skilled construction workers as well as engineering developments which will enable the earliest re-building of the devastated cities and villages," Venediktov said. He welcomed the idea of "the friends from Rome to set up a tiny spot of Italy in Armenia."

LORCS Vice-President Mariapia Fanfani said that negotiations were already under way for delivering prefabricated houses for 10 for 3,000 families to Armenia. She added that Italians were ready to take part in future capital construction as well.

Speaking about the extent of foreign aid to quake victimes, George Red, head of the LORCS Information Directorate, said that 103 international relief flights had been made to Yerevan since the moment of the natural disaster.

We are expressing our genuine sympathy to the Armenian people hit by the earthquake which was at least six times more destructive than the one in Mexico, Red said.

Foreign Response to Earthquake Viewed

PM1512100988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Golts under "Journalist's Notes" rubric: "When the Stereotypes Collapse"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations and the tragedy in Armenia have been the most important events in international life recently. It seems to me that there is a profound link between the foreign policy which the USSR has been pursuing in recent years and the wish of millions of people to help us in adversity. After all, Soviet ideas of disarmament and the new political thinking have forced many, very many people to look at us with different eyes. The ideas put forward recently on the reduction of the armed forces and the alteration of their structure in accordance with defensive doctrine have strengthened the USSR's prestige still further. And now a politician who just a few years ago was speaking with delight of a fellow countryman who preferred "to see his children dead rather than red" is saying today that he is with us in his prayers.

And this is a victory for the values common to all humanity. Of course, I am far from seeing the situation in the international arena in rosy hues. At the same time as the U.S. military transport aircraft are on their way to Yerevan, others are flying to Alaska. They are taking part in the rehearsal of the landing of an assault force on Soviet soil. Yes, the world today is contradictory: Some people are preparing rescue work, while others are preparing to kill.

But it seems to me that, having experienced the tragedy of Armenia and having overcome this calamity, the planet will not longer be as it was. Something must change. The stereotypes of confrontation are already collapsing and will undoubtedly be destroyed.

Armenians Return to Azerbaijan, Begin Work

LD1612191388 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Baku December 16 TASS—Armenians who left Azerbaijan earlier, now return to this republic thanks to efforts of party government and other bodies of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Between December 11 and 15 over 2,300 people returned from Armenia to their former places of residence, including more than 1,100 people to Baku, 315 to Shemakha, 110 to Zakataly and 54 people to Ismailly Districts.

After their arrival they start working at their work collectives. Their return is continuing.

Official Meets 'Settlers'

LD1712000988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by S. Fateyev]

[Text] The working people of Azerbaijan are currently facing many complex problems, one of which is making arrangements for those who have temporarily moved here from Armenia, meaning giving them a roof over their heads and providing them with work and food. All these are difficult tasks. Zangelanskiy and Kubatlinskiy Rayons alone have recently received over 6,000 people. Those rayons, which border on Armenia, have been visited by Abdul-Rakhman Khalil ogly Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. He had meetings with people and acquainted himself with the activities of the headquarters set up to handle the temporary settlers. One such meeting took place in Zangelanskiy Rayon. [video shows Vezirov speaking with group] [V.F.Khodakovskiy, senior worker of the CPSU Central Committee—identified by screen caption] It should be said that the party rayon committee, the raykom, the Soviet of People's Deputies, and public organizations are taking the most serious, concrete, and specific measures to assist the population, to provide them with work. They are taking an individual approach to providing for each of the children. At present a considerable proportion of the children who have arrived here are already going to school...

[Vezirov, interrupting] I was told that a large group is getting ready to go to our all-union sanatoria. This should be done together with teachers, and parents, too, if they so wish. [addressing Z.T. Mekhtiyev, first secretary of the party raykom—identified by screen caption] When was the last time you held a meeting with the Armenian secretaries?

[Mekhtiyev] Last night at 0700, we had a meeting with the leadership of Kafanskiy Rayon, Comrade Mkrtchyan, representatives of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and with representatives of the CPSU Central Committee. We discussed the urgent problems we are encountering today, and in particular, those connected with the return of refugees to their native haunts and areas, and with compensation for the damage inflicted on them, concerning property, (?cattle), and so on. We drew up an approximate program of joint action.

[Vezirov] Good, well, I'm very happy with what you comrades have been saying here. It means that in fact there are still people in neighboring Megrinskiy and Kafanskiy Rayons who may want to return. But you must proceed as follows: You have to think very seriously about the possibility of providing places, about giving the necessary subsidies, about giving people the opportunity, and most importantly, helping them to build what they need quickly, to build good homes. Also, a very important thing: It has become known that the overwhelming majority of the people who have now arrived—the settlers—are people of an agricultural profession, so to speak. You have places where these people can be given the opportunity to work. [video shows Vezirov, Mekhtiyev, and unidentified people in discussion in an office]

'Interethnic Discord' Prevails in Caucasus Region

'Inspirers' of Unrest Cited

LD1912100788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0858 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Yanchenkov reports:

One of the most urgent problems currently facing the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia is the shortage of vehicle transport for evacuating the victims from the disaster area. Vehicles are being taken from passenger lines and municipal routes and sent as a matter of urgency to the cities and rayons that suffered the earthquake.

However, in these most difficult of days for the republic there are people who are depriving the victims of buses which are in such short supply. For example, on 16 December 12 spacious "Ikarus" buses were dashing along toward the town of Idzhevan in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] to take there from Yerevan 300 people of Armenian nationality who had left their homes in Azerbaijan.

Since entry to the autonomous oblast is at present subject to control, the convoy of buses was stopped at the border with the neighboring republic by State Automobile Inspectorate posts. A conflict ensued. There, as if by the wave of a magic wand, in the center of events were U.S. journalists (Kebzi Mariya) from NBC with two cameramen, and her BBC colleague, Julian O'Halloran, also armed with film equipment. Nor were they the only ones in Idzhevan. They were accompanied by a teacher from the Armenian Pedagogical Institute, acting as an interpreter, who said he was doing so, allegedly, at the request of "Intourist" services. Staff at this organization categorically refused to acknowledge the imposter.

Today the inspirers of the interethnic discord and unrest that is flaring up from time to time in Yerevan are known. The "Karabakh" Committee was set up as a public body to enquire into the problem of the NKAO; but in recent months there has been a sharp change in its membership, aims and methods. Today its arsenal includes ultimatums, calls for strikes and meetings, provocation, and instigation. Its aims is, without prior arrangement [yavochnym poryadkom], to bring as many Armenians as possible into Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan, to expand the economic presence of the Armenian SSR in the NKAO and, by integration, to create gradually a single complex comprising Armenia and the NKAO with a view to joining Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

However, the zealots of the Karabakh question such as, for example, V.M. Manukyan, lecturer at Yerevan State University, and I.M. Muradyan of the academic staff of the Scientific Research Institute of (?Economics and Politics) of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, are evidently not at all concerned about the consequences of what they are doing. Yet their actions are directed—willy-nilly—toward destabilizing the situation and stirring up racial enmity and social conflicts.

Three groups can be clearly identified in the "Karabakh movement." The first consists of honest and decent people who sincerely want the Nagorno-Karabakh problem to be removed from the agenda at last. But many of these people are essentially deluded. They are ruled by representatives of the second group—active functionaries who deliberately organize conflicts and all kinds of provocation to discredit the republic's leading bodies on this wave and force their way into power themselves.

But behind the backs of both the sincerely misled and pharisaical activists stands the chief force—the corrupted "yesterday" and "today" people, those who are interested first and foremost in unrest, heightening passions, for beyond the masses of cases in the sea of endless investigations law enforcement bodies have no time to deal seriously with those who for decades have become rich at the expense of working people and for whom restructuring is like a knife in the heart.

But there is a limit to everything. One must not play on the nationalist feelings of the people endlessly and with impunity and set people against each other; one must not allow morally and politically unscrupulous persons to hamper the Armenian people from raising from the ruins the towns and villages destroyed by the elements: one must not allow fear, hate, and mistrust to take root in the hearts of courageous and wise people on the ancient and beautiful Armenain soil.

'Armed Struggle' for Nationalists

AU1712140888 Paris AFP in English 1058 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Madrid, Dec 17 (AFP)—Some Armenians believe that armed struggle is the only way to win the return of the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, an Armenian parliamentarian has told a Madrid newspaper.

The daily EL PAIS on Saturday [16 December] quoted Ashot Manucharian [name as received], a member of the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, of the earthquake-stricken southern Soviet Republic of Armenia, as saying that "in Yerevan (the Armenian capital), there are young people who believe that armed struggle is the only possible course."

Mr. Manucharian, 34, said the youth of Armenia "believe that nothing can be achieved in this country by legal, constitutional means."

He said Armenian nationalist demonstrators last Sunday [11 December] had for the first time responded to police charges by "throwing stones and using batons."

Mr. Manucharian, a member of the Karabakh committee that has spearheaded the campaign for the return of the mainly-Armenian enclave from the neighbouring Republic of Azerbaijan, said the movement numbered "thousands, maybe tens of thousands of members" in Armenia.

The Armenian demand for Nagorno-Karabakh has sparked mounting tension with Muslim Azerbaijan, where life has reportedly become increasingly difficult for Armenians, who are mostly Christian. Some have lost their jobs, while others have fled, fearing pogroms.

Mr. Manucharian was said to have gone into hiding, amid reports that another member of the Armenian parliament, Jashid Stamboltsian [name as received], had been arrested last Wednesday despite his parliamentary immunity.

Earlier reports said all leaders of the committee and their close collaborators were in hiding as Moscow used the crisis in the wake of last week's earthquake to orchestrate a press campaign to denounce them.

The Soviet authorities have accused the nationalist movement of spreading rumours aimed at undermining stability in the republic, where poor coordination of the relief effort has been criticized even by the Communist Party newspaper PRAVDA and the Foreign Ministry.

Karabakh 'Adventurists' Condemned

LD1612120988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Dec (TASS)—Special correspondent Vladimir Yegorov writes:

From time to time "foam" appears on the wave of the growing democracy and glasnost—that is, people who deem themselves the arbiters of human destiny. This is what has occurred in Armenia, where a handful of political adventurists sytling themselves the leaders of the notorious "Karabakh" committee, while firing nationalist sentiments, have embarked on a power struggle. Their provocative actions look particularly amoral today against the background of the dreadful natural disaster which has descended on the Armenian people. On the streets of Yerevan and other towns in the republic these days you can meet people dressed in black shirts, supposedly as a sign of mourning—but not for those tens of thousands of unfortunates who have become victim of the crippling earthquake, rather for the "prisoners" of Nagorno-Karabakh who are not being allowed to "reunite" with Armenia. Having let their beards grow, they have promised to wear them until "a just solution" is adopted for the Karabakh problem. On the other side of the republic's border in Azerbaijan the "white shirts" are pacing about, having declared the slogan: "We will die, but we will not give up Karabakh."

However, as was noted in Mikhail Gorbachev's recent interview to correspondents of central television and Armenian television, Karabakh "for a long time was not needed, and never bothered" either of them. They strain to get into leading posts and to trample under them the working class, the peasantry, and the working intelligentsia.

Viktor Yerin, Armenian first deputy minister of internal affairs, said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent: "Incidentally, neither the 'black shirts' nor the 'white shirts' nor the 'bearded ones' organized the provocative troubles over the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. They are merely the blind agents of the will of 10-12 ideologists of the 'Karabakh' committee, which was created a year ago and which ignored the decision of the republic's supreme soviet on the dissolution of this organization; these agents continue their unworthy activity. In organizing mass meetings and putting forward at them demagogic demands going as far as the declaration of the 'sovereignty' of Armenia, they are in essence coming out against the very process of restructuring, the success of which depends to a great extent on the unity and cohesion of all peoples and nations living in the country."

"Striving to get as many people as possible onto its side, the committee is putting forward a vast program where not only political but also 'ecological' demands are designated," Viktor Yerin continued. "The discussion undertaken by the "Karabakh" over the Armenian atomic power station testifies to the demagogic nature of such demands. The construction of the atomic power unit in a seismic zone has long since been recognized as a mistake, and a decision has been adopted on changing its function over the years 1989-90; yet the 'Karabakh' people are continuing to shout the slogan: 'Down with the AES.' And what are the provocative forecasts by the leaders of the committee worth when they assert, in spite of the view of scientists, that the earthquake will continue and will lead to countless deaths!"

These day the leaders of "Karabakh," in seeking out blunders and lack of coordination, which are unavoidable in such an extreme situation, are striving to demonstrate to the working people in the republic that they

and only they play the main role in the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake. In actual fact, having lodged themselves in their "headquarters" in the premises of the Armenian Writers Union, they get on the nerves of the personnel of medical establishments, spread all kinds of panic-mongering rumors, and divert efforts from the organizing of efficient help to those who have suffered. The sensation raised by the "Karabakh" activists in defense of children and orphans supposedly being transported out of the region to be brought up in non-Armenian familiies is unworthy. Playing upon the people's most humane feelings, the leaders of "Karabakh" are trying to put the provocative thought into people's minds that the removal of the children is a part of some kind of program for the resettlement of Armenians.

Viktor Yerin said: "At one time the 'Karabakh' activists, playing on national feelings and at times on individual errors made by the republic's previous leadership, gained a certain popularity among the mass of the people. Now, when enormous human grief has come to the land of Armenia, they have finally discredited themselves with their extremist activity.

"The time has come to make use of both administrative and political power to stop these outrageous adventurists. The decree recently adopted by the republic's supreme soviet to put on trial those persons guilty of inflaming interethnic disagreements and organizing disturbances was extremely necessary and timely." Viktor Yerin reported that on 10 December a military detail detained 22 people who had organized a provocative demonstration at the Writers Union, insulting the servicemen who were maintaining public order in the city. They included five leaders of the "Karabakh" committee. The military commandant placed them under administrative detention for 30 days.

"In the hour of disaster and high responsibility we must all be together and united as never before. Nobody has the right to political adventurism, which undermines the foundations of our society", Viktor Yerin stressed.

PRAVDA Condemns Committee

PM1712200188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 First Edition pp 2, 6

[Reprint of article from 13 December 1988 Yerevan KOMMUNIST: "Hour of Misfortune and Hour of Responsibility"]

[Text] Misfortune has visited our home. Destruction of unprecedented force has swept across Armenia's land.

Great is our grief. The death of relatives and friends is an irreplaceable loss. The wounds in our hearts will not heal quickly. Even our great-grandchildren will remember these tragic days as a nightmare.

Does it have to be said that our people are now dedicating all their efforts to those who were in the disaster zone and who need our help and sympathy? The whole country has held out its hand to Armenia. The eyes of the whole world are now on the place where the earth shook, where people are being rescued from the ruins, and where everything has to start from scratch again. Every honest and pure-hearted person will help in whatever way he can—with hands, bread, money, accommodation.

Everyone's main task today is to save people, to rescue the living from the debris, to feed and warm the victims, to lift the downhearted, and to inspire hope in the despairing.

There is an even harder task ahead—to raise the cities and villages from the ruins, to revive wrecked homes, and to restore people's lives and confidence.

Everyone is undertaking this most difficult work today—Communists and nonparty people, young people and veterans, party and soviet organs, social organizations, and military servicemen. Our whole people and our whole country are at work.

In the present unprecedentedly difficult conditions, which demand the utmost responsibility, organization, and unity, there are people who are trying to make political capital out of the whole nation's grief.

The leaders of the "Karabakh" committee, seeking out the errors and shortcomings that are inevitable in such an emergency, are trying to show the republic's working people that it is they, and they alone, who are playing the main role in eliminating the aftereffects of the earthquake.

The committee members are going all out to create the illusion of tumultuous activity.

To lend respectability to their work they have created a headquarters in the premises of the Armenian SSR Union of Writers, where they occupy three rooms. Operating around the clock, the committee members send commands from the headquarters to their subcommittees, receive visitors, obtain information from all parts of the republic, and have established contacts with the leaders of all kinds of organizations and institutions to which they "give instructions" on allocating equipment and people—in other words, on the measures that, in reality, the authorities are already taking.

Those people ensconced in their snug headquarters have even gone so far as to establish permanent contact with medical institutions, give unqualified instructions, spread all kinds of panic rumors, and send false information to the republic's Ministry of Health, thus diverting efforts from organizing effective medical aid to the victims. In a conversation with V. Manukyan, who had phoned the Ministry of Health with another lot of false

information, one of the ministry's leaders bluntly termed such actions provocations that hinder the implementation of the measures needed to save people's lives.

The committee members kicked up an unseemly fuss in defense of orphan children reportedly taken from the region to be brought up in non-Armenian families.

Playing on people's most humane feelings, the committee members have been trying to instill in the population the provocative idea that the children's removal is part of a program to relocate Armenians. They have been appealing to the victims of the disaster who are being taken to sanatoriums and rest homes not to leave their native land, on the grounds that this hinders the work of gathering and reuniting the Armenian people. The movement of the population from Azerbaijan that is currently in progress is being used for the same purposes.

And the things that have happened on the streets of Yerevan during these distressing days can only be described as an affront to the people's grief.

Who first gave the order to assemble by the Tumanyan monument? Who is trying to divert the people from the most important task of rescuing our fellow countrymen who are in distress? A. Galstyan spoke with people around the monument. He was the one who urged people not to obey the public order forces who asked them to observe the curfew regulations. What is Galstyan after? He wants rallies at a time when minutes are vital for saving people's lives. Bombastic words at a time when it is more customary to observe a solemn silence over people's graves.

People understood this on that occasion by the Tumanynan monument, and they dispersed. But someone wanted them to meet at the "Parus" cafe. How did they respond to the appeals for order? Was it not A. Manucharyan who cried: "We will make them fire on us!" What is Manucharyan after? More casualties at a time when thousands of dead in Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan are still awaiting burial? At moments of national grief people's nerves are raw. Anything which touches them causes a sharp reaction. And Manchuryan led those people to the roadblocks that the soldiers had been forced to put up.

How can one fail to understand those people who demanded from the sidewalks and the balconies that these irresponsible tricks should cease, that people should think and come to their senses, those people who asked them to not disgrace the Armenian people, those people who were appealing to conscience and reason?

Many people did think, many came to their senses. How could you do otherwise when people are telling you what you yourself are saying: We have common grief, so let's go and save people; we have suffered a tragedy yet you are looking after yourself....

But once again someone brought people together, this time in front of the "Rossiya" movie theater. Some people had already picked up rocks. Who among the old and the wise tried to stop them? Unfortunately, no one. Quite the reverse happened. They deliberately egged them on.

What was V. Siradegyan after when he called out: No talks with the military. Did he really not know that the instruction had been given to safeguard public order and that this would be carried out, come what may? What does Siradegyan actually want? Where is he leading young people? Does he really not know that the military command, which has felt in its heart the great grief that has befallen the Armenian people as a result of the natural disaster, has reallocated a considerable part of its manpower to work among the ruins and thus relaxed the curfew regime? We have all seen for ourselves the stream of Yerevan people heading for Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan, how movement at night has gone unhindered even though no one has actually lifted the curfew. What does Siradegyan want? For the soldiers reallocated to the disaster zone for search and rescue work to come back again?

Noble people do not commit outrages at funerals. Only those who do not value the people's honor can now be thinking of anything except the tragedy of many thousands of their fellow countrymen. It is time now to find the words to instill some sense in those people who are dreaming of using the people's grief to make a name for themselves and win glory as fighters for the people's cause [narodnoye delo]. That glory is now to be won in other places and by other deeds. It is being won in those places where people are heroically working to rescue those trapped under the rocks, not in the places where rocks are being thrown!

What do they want, those people who are now laying their dirty hands on the people's grief stricken soul, those who began whispering to people that there was no earthquake, that the Army had specially detonated a nuclear weapon under Leninakan in order to distract the Armenian people from the Karabakh movement, and that the only reason they were afraid of doing the same in Yerevan was because of the AES?

It is hard to say who in these tragic days for Armenians first spread this vile and base lie, one surely intended only for the ignorant philistine and the gossipmonger. But judging by these schemes and targeted instructions designed to cause an instant reaction among the people, it is not hard to guess who created them.

A disaster is called natural when it is unexpected. Its occurrence is unpredictable and it strikes suddenly. But unlike that, the actions of people who try to get others to do their dirty work for them are predictable. This is because a vile act, even when committed with impunity,

still leaves its mark on an outwardly kindly face. From that mark, just like a slap in the face, it is not hard to tell who is who during the moments of the people's grief.

The true nature of the "champions" of the Armenian people's fate was displayed for all to see on 10 December. Several hundred people gathered in front of the Writers' Union building. The Karabakh movement's activists behaved provocatively, insulted the military, who were keeping order, and declared their intention to close off the road. In accordance with the regulations of the special situation introduced in the city by military order, the crowd was dispersed and 22 people were detained, among them 5 leaders of the "Karabakh" committee. The military commandant then sentenced them to 30 days' administrative detention.

Today the Armenian people's lives are dominated by a single thought: to stand firm. Not just to eliminate the aftereffects of the unprecedented earthquake but also to raise our cities and villages from the ruins as quickly as possible. Work is in progress—difficult, strenuous work demanding great efforts and tremendous spiritual fortitude. In these emergency conditions, what name can you give to those who are trying to thwart our efforts, cause confrontation, and divide people? It is hard to find an appropriate word. Is it even worth trying? After all, the main thing is clear—the people, their present and future, are the last things on the mind of those who are now disrupting order.

During these days of difficult trials all that is alien and second-rate is being discarded, and only the truth remains—the whole truth, no matter how bitter. And the truth today is that the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee are concerned least of all with the problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. They are frantically waging a struggle for power and influence over the broad masses, disdaining neither demagoguery nor antidemocratic methods.

Recall the noisy attempts that the committee members made to latch onto that great and difficult work which the government began in caring for the refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR. At the Armenian Writers' Union building a clamorous "headquarters" was also set up which issued instructions to subcommittees at the local level to close roads, blockade villages, hold rallies, and continue strikes. At the same time they demanded that government institutions immediately ensure a normal life for the refugees. They made their demands loudly so that everyone could hear how concerned they were over their fellow countrymen's misfortunes. And a quite unprecedented thing—they suggested cooperation. On certain conditions, it is true—that the curfew be lifted and that a rally be allowed in Yerevan, where they claimed they wanted to "calm the people."

We have already seen in practice just how they "calm" people. On 6 November the committee leaders expressed a desire to participate in a working people's demonstration, assured the authorities of their support for the aims of restructuring, and gave their "word of honor" that they would not permit manifestations likely to cloud the holiday. But what happened? We all recall with a sense of shame the malicious disorder that they arranged on the people's sacred square. The "committee members," numbering themselves among a nation with a most ancient culture, and in the presence of women and children, alternated their antisocialist cries with vile abuse and hysteria. So much for their "word of honor."

For 10 months now we have all witnessed how day by day the "Karabakh" leaders exploit the conditions of society's democratization and work solely to fuel passions, inflame interethnic discord, and call for extreme measures. We all remember the pressure that the "activists" put on transport drivers; we recall the pickets blockading enterprises, the insults and obstruction that workers who refused to strike were subjected to. How can we forget the rally at which the writer V. Siradegyan listed the names of the enterprise leaders who had refused to support the strikes? He publicly called them "dregs" and impugned their honor and dignity. In the conditions of glasnost and democratization launched by the party, the moral terror created by the "committee members" has made soberminded people afraid to express their own opinions, as though a shroud of fear overhung the republic.

The committee members have already usurped the right to speak on the people's behalf. Recall the 15 November rally organized in Yerevan by the so-called "Association for National Self-Determination." In opening it, Gorgesyan used words which revealed the methods constantly employed by the "Karabakh" leaders. Essentially what he said was: On the people's behalf we have sent written demands to the European Parliament, and we now want to tell you about them. Such is their democracy: We write, but just you try to disagree! It was no coincidence that the same rally heard the warning: "We ask those who wish to express their personal opinion not to come to the microphone." As you can see, they understand pluralism in their own terms, allowing some to shout while instructing others to keep quiet. Those who disagree are publicly insulted, as happened during the attempt to hold an independent "session" in the opera and ballet theater. When a group of deputies tried to leave the hall as a mark of protest against A. Manucharyan's thesis on Armenia"s "full sovereignty," K. Simonyan, a writer who has nothing to with the deputies' corps, hysterically branded them traitors to the people. How familiar that label is! "Traitors to the people," "enemies of the people." What next—back to Stalinism?

The program of the Armenian national movement contains the following words: "...it is very dangerous when the people seek the causes of their successes and failures elsewhere." But are not the "Karabakh" leaders themselves inciting people to seek "enemies without?" You only have to look at their speeches, proclamations, and leaflets to realize whom they see as the main "enemy." They blasphemously go so far as to say that they see the

"hand of Moscow" in the organization of the Sumgait tragedy. Their desire to denigrate Moscow is understandable. After all, it is Moscow which is issuing the appeals to preserve calm and wisdom, to respect national dignity, and to show restraint and discipline. That is where the intensive search is now in progress for ways to resolve the problem from a position not of strength but of reason.

The "Karabakh" leaders refuse to understand that in a multinational state there can only be one principle for the solution of any question: There can be neither "winners" nor "losers," and no side must be offended. But all they want is "victory" at any cost, even at the cost of blood, because they are guided by the principle that the worse it is for everyone, the better it is for us. And they are doing everything to destabilize the situation, even though they are well aware that it is only in conditions of calm and accord that the most complex problems facing our people can be solved in deeds, not just in words.

Leaflets, information bulletins, and addresses are being feverishly prepared, reports are being sent to foreign correspondents, and petitions are even being sent to the United Nations. The semblance of active work and pointless fuss and bustle may actually create the impression that the "Karabakh" committee has shouldered the whole burden of caring for people's needs. But you can't hide the truth. In fueling passions over the problem of the mass exodus of the Armenian population from Azerbaijan, which is a really acute and difficult problem, the leaders of the movement are seeking just one thing—to incite immature people to take "retaliatory measures" and to aggravate the situation all the more.

On the initiative of the subcommittees, a wave of rallies has swept across rayons and villages demanding that Azerbaijanis leave their homes. You will not find any direct instructions to that effect from their leaders. But the whole logic of their actions over the past 10 months can have no other outcome.

On 26 November, 500 inhabitants of Kirovakan, stirred up by inflammatory speeches from activists of the Karabakh movement, went right from a rally to Shaumyan village. The fighting last 2 days and there was shooting. People died. Pogroms were also carried out in Kuybyshevo village, where there were also casualties. Outrages became more frequent on the highways, where outposts or "self-defense detachments" have been set up by the movement's activists. It reached the point where the movement's activists, by using slogans of "retaliation" as a cover, have been trying to persecute non-Armenians and working people in our republic. Their appeals to sack those Armenians who cannot speak their native tongue well are very familiar. See sense! All this is the course of rabid nationalists.

The most scandalous part of the political row started by the "Karabakh" committee is that they have been involving children in it. Picture the demonstration in the center of Amasiya village where 30 schoolchildren under the leadership of the son of the rayon people's control committee chairman demanded that Azerbaijanis be fired from their jobs. Did it not occur to anyone that at such an age an injection of nationalism can be fatal to their civic character?

Yet the "Armenian national movement's" program, prepared by the "Karabakh" committee's leaders, hypocritically said: "Our movement is not aimed against other peoples. Our principle is to live in peace and accord with all neighboring peoples." But after all that we have seen in some parts of the republic the following public program directive surely has a hypocritical ring to it: "We reject all manifestations of nationalism and national discrimination."

Looking at the hypocritical activity of the "Karabakh" leaders, the corrupt people of "yesterday" and "today" must be rubbing their hands with glee. Behind their backs they are as safe as though they were behind a stone wall: The law enforcement apparatus is virtually fully occupied investigating interethnic clashes and keeping order on the streets and highways, not those people who until quite recently ruled the roost and feathered their nest and against whom the barb of restructuring is aimed. The movement's activists disown the corrupt circles, but their policy and practical actions show that their interests coincide entirely. Think about the appeals that have recently been made increasingly often at rallies: The only true patriot is the one who is with the committee, and it doesn't matter whether he takes bribes or not. That is the "logic" to which this playing at "big-league politics" has brought the committee members.

We—individually and collectively—have connived at their appearance. It cannot be ignored that certain party and soviet workers, intoxicated by nationalist phrases, were led on by the political adventurists from the "Karabakh" committee. Instead of calming passions, protecting citizens, and exposing the provocateurs who incited interethnic strife, they themselves encouraged the mass exodus in some regions. That was the "mission" of certain figures who toured homes in Kirovakan, Stepanavan, and Ashtarak. Are political shortsightedness and unscrupulousness proper in party and soviet workers? Is it not time to bring them strictly to book?

And where, you ask, are those representatives of the intelligentsia who were in at the beginning of the movement? The upper hand has gone to people who use any method to prevent a reduction of tension and who urge the people to forfeit their good name. Political adventurists have entered the arena, people who stop at nothing

to achieve their selfish goals. Those goals are well known: They are desperate for power and are urging the people to the brink of national tragedy.

The time has finally come to realize the most terrible thing today: When irresponsible political adventurists thirst for power, the people's moral foundations, the future of their children, and the fate of the Armenian nation are in jeopardy. We are not going the same way as they are.

That is why the republic's working people received with such deep understanding and approval the evaluations and conclusions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's interview with the correspondents of central and Armenian television.

Our lives are dominated by a single thought today—to raise our native land from the ruins and to transform it back into a flourishing region. The scale of our misfortune is colossal. But that misfortune will will be overcome if we close ranks more tightly and act as a common front and in unison. As a whole people, a whole country!

Call for End to Karabakh Acts

PM1612182588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[Article by Miroslav Buzhkevich under the rubric "Journalist's Notes": "Challenge to Reason and Honor"]

[Text] Yerevan—At the regular morning planning session held daily by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission, a speaker said the following:

"People appeared in Leninakan yesterday who not only exhorted the inhabitants not to allow their children to be taken outside Armenia away from the scene of the catastrophe but also advised adults not to leave the devastated city for other republics where they would be accommodated in sanatoriums, hotels, and hostels. They say that no one will be allowed back into Armenia."

It has become clear that provocateurs from the disbanded "Karabakh" committee are once again voicing an opinion. It would appear that during this great disaster, when the thoughts and actions of the people of Armenia had one aim—to clear the debris swiftly and drag out the living and the dead—and when the earthquake victims sensed the great vigor of the Soviet people's fraternal aid and mankind's support and compassion, that during this hard December, when the Armenians' national spirit should be a monolith and a flawless whole, there were people who not only forgot honor but who also lost the remnants of reason. By whispering in people's ears and kindling fear in the hearts of those who had still not recovered from the shock caused by the tragedy and the death of their nearest and dearest and the destruction of their homes, they condemn those who believe them to new, unwarranted suffering. All this is taking place under the slogan of the "salvation" of the Armenian nation.

...The disaster area is a few dozen kilometers in diameter. Not only have cities and villages been destroyed here but highways, power lines, communications, and the water supply have been damaged. No one expected this harsh blow from nature—science is still "blind" and cannot predict the actions of the elements. That is why, with all the will in the world, it was impossible to supply the rescue work front within an hour, a day, or even 2 days. There were malfunctions, blunders, and lack of coordination. The leaders of the "Karabakh" committee pointed the finger at the republic's party and soviet organs and then at the union government's commissions, raising an uproar: "You see, they're either unable or unwilling to help the Armenian people, and so we'll do it." They are doing everything possible to demonstrate their activeness. Their representatives at the Armenian Writers Union have created their own staff, which has begun to send commands and instructions to the subcommittees under its jurisdiction as to how to organize the rescue work; they have tried to direct freight shipments, have given the Ministry of Health unverified, inaccurate information, and have thus virtually disoriented the organization of aid for the victims.

But not only do these "staff officers" not have any power, they are also ineffective. They are doing nothing. Moreover, they are in many respects impeding the organization for receiving and distributing all the equipment, food, clothing, and medicine—everything that is arriving by plane, railroad, and bus for disposal by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission, which is the true leader of the very grave and difficult battle for people's lives and for the fate of the cities and villages. So the "Karabakh" committee has begun to change its tactics.

Rumors have begun to fly about. They are juicier than the others. The first night after the catastrophe a multitude of Yerevan inhabitants were driven out of their homes onto the streets: They were telephoned and warned that another earthquake was expected. Then the "disclosure of the century" followed: A nuclear bomb has been detonated at Leninakan!

But all this has paled in the face of further specific actions on the part of the "Karabakh" leaders. Some 3 days after the catastrophe, 10 December, when many corpses had still not had time to grow cold and when medics were working at hospitals and clinics to save the wounded and the uninjured were working around the clock clearing ferroconcrete debris, on that day of national calamity, having impudently and ostentatiously violated established procedure, these dishonest people organized an unauthorized rally near the Writers Union. They made speeches to the gathering containing passionate declamations on human rights, while they themselves were flouting these rights and proclaimed everyone who

did not share their views an enemy, stirring up people against the soldiers and officers maintaining public order. Some 22 people were arrested, including 5 leaders of the banned "Karabakh"; a preventive restriction, as lawyers say—30 days' administrative detention. PRAVDA has already given their names, but let me recall them: A. Akopyan, K. Vartanyan, S. Gevorkyan, V. Manukyan, and L. Ter-Petrosyan.

We will very likely have a chance to say why they were arrested. The prosecutor and investigators must be given time to investigate the circumstances.

The second phase of the events was enacted 11 December. That day a group of people gathered at the monument to the architect Tamanyan. A. Galstyan, a member of the "Karabakh" committee, urged people not to submit to the forces maintaining public order. Some 100 km from Yerevan people of dozens of nationalities were rescuing Armenian lives but he—Galstyan—was calling for rallies. People realized the utter shamefulness and amorality of these calls and dispersed.

But soon the townspeople gathered elsewhere—in the center of Yerevan. They were asked to disperse and observe the established procedure. However, another "Karabakh leader—A. Manucharyan—shouted that "...we will force them to fire on us." As the saying goes, God had wiped his memory clean; he had ostensibly forgotten the people buried in the ruins of Spitak and Leninakan and craved blood on the streets of the republic's capital. Many of his listeners realized this. People from the sidewalks and balconies took exception to Manucharyan: Come to your senses, don't disgrace the Armenian people! He did not succeed in provoking disturbances.

For a third time young people began to form groups. The writer V. Siradegyan "talked their heads off." He is well aware that the command for public order to be maintained has been issued. But he figured that some of the soldiers from Yerevan had been sent to the earthquake area and that this "weak spot" could be exploited and the situation within the city destabilized. Only someone who has no respect for his own people and who, more to the point, is capable of mocking their grief could have done all this. Of course, order was restored. Twelve servicemen were injured. Five went to the hospital; they were injured because they showed mercy toward their attackers: for many of the latter possibly had fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters who had died or were injured at the center of the earthquake.

What do the Armenian people expect today? The people of Yerevan told me that at a time like this all grievances must be forgotten and all interethnic disputes set aside. Today our wishes and destiny lie with Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, and the other destroyed hamlets and villages, and the 500,000 unfortunate people who have been made homeless—and then everything else! The "Karabakh" leaders oppose all the actions of the republic and union governments: They say that all this is being done to harm the Armenian people.

Oh, how they "care for" the people, publish information bulletins and appeals, and send petitions to the United Nations. Thus, what a "show" of work is put on by the leaders of the "Karabakh" committee, who are actually trying to disinform public opinion and prove that, supposedly, it is they who are bearing the main burden of concern for ordinary people. Their opinions on the friendship between the peoples are particularly hypocritical. The leaders of the disbanded "Karabakh" committee have elaborated a program for an "Armenian general ethnic movement." It contains words to the effect that this movement "is not directed against the other peoples. Our principle is to live in peace and harmony with all neighboring peoples." But at the same time the "Karabakh" activists organized a demonstration in the village of Amasiya by three dozen schoolchildren demanding that... Azerbaijanis be dismissed from work.

Let's look behind the scenes of the current events. The "Karabakh" leaders are active—while various corrupt operators and the local mafia godfathers are skimming off the cream. They are having quite a cosy and tranquil time behind the political demagogues. Neither the local prosecutor's office nor the militia can in practice get their hands on these villains: Interethnic clashes must be suppressed and order maintained in cities and villages. Statements can be heard at rallies: If you are with the "Karabakh" committee, you're a patriot. But it's no concern of anyone if you take bribes or plunder the people's property.

Many people are endeavoring to understand how all this goes with the presence of Soviet power and the party organization in Armenia. How long will the activists from the "Karabakh" committee, which has officially been disbanded, be allowed to speculate on restructuring and glasnost? Perhaps what the republic's KOMMUNIST said about this is quite accurate:

"We must not hush up the fact that some party and soviet officials intoxicated by nationalist phrases have come under the thumb of political adventurers from the 'Karabakh' committee.... Does political shortsightedness and unscrupulousness become such officials? Is it not time for us to call them to account in a principled fashion?

"For instance, where are the representatives of the intelligentsia who founded the movement?... Political adventurers have appeared in the arena who stop at nothing to achieve their own selfish aims. These aims are well known: They are frenziedly seeking power by pushing the people to the limit beyond which national tragedy awaits."

Also:

"It is finally time to realize that the most terrible thing today is this situation whereby irresponsible political adventurers are thirsting for power and the people's moral foundations, the future of their children, and the fate of the Armenian people are in danger. We aren't going along with these people."

One cannot fail to agree with these conclusions. It is necessary to ensure that they become the ideological stance for all the republic's Communists and all its honest citizens. The people won't go along with those who have challenged the people's reason and honor! It is time to stop them by using both the political and administrative force of our people's power.

Letters Received on Karabakh

PM1612115488 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS special correspondent V. Yanchenkov report: "Nobility and Baseness: Reflections on Letters to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—There are great mountains of fat files and loose-leaf binders on the desk of L. Chakhmakhchyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee General Department. Staffers keep coming in with bundles of letters and telegrams.

"Hundreds of envelopes and telegram forms arrive at our Central Committee every day from all over the country," Levon Khorenovich says. "Today the number has gone over 3,000. And that is in just 7 days! We have had to set up a special group within the letters sector to sort out and analyze the correspondence and distribute it to the appropriate bodies."

I pick up one of the bundles. Line after line, letter after letter, true nobility, sincere compassion, high morality, and real humanity rise to their full heights as I read. [passage omitted]

People in Armenia saw the arrival of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, as an act of the utmost humanism and an indication of the indissoluble unity of party and people. He came to the republic in order to share with the victims and their loved ones and relatives this tremendous human sorrow. The Armenians will never forget it. These are the kind of letters they are sending to M.S. Gorbachev:

"There are no words to express our heartfelt gratitude to you for your help to Armenia in its hour of need. You interrupted your overseas tour for the sake of the cause of peace, and came to us, visited the disaster zone, and talked with people. We thank you for your colossal labor; we will never forget it. Yes, it is true: In our state no man is an island.

[Signed] Ashot Lvovich Lalayan, disabled in the Patriotic War"

"We would like to thank you for your humanity, for your concern for us, for your eyes that filled with sorrow for us Armenians. The people bow to you.

[Signed] "The inhabitants of Block 14, Saryan Street, Yerevan"

In the terrible times of a common trouble, people become more upright and kinder, they forget their quarrels, find ways to each other's hearts, and seek mutual understanding so as to overcome and survive their grief by joint efforts. And—they trust one another sincerely. That is why the attempts by some people to make political capital out of the people's grief seems so absurd and ill-conceived today.

I am talking about the leaders of the notorious "Karabakh" committee. The other day the republican newspapers KOMMUNIST and SOVETAKAN AYASTAN published a striking article "The Hour of Need and the Hour of Responsibility," giving an objective and honest assessment of the activity of the "Karabakh" ringleaders. Even in the present tragic situation they do not intend to renounce their ambitions; in fact they are deliberately damaging the common cause and objectively setting themselves against the Armenian people's interests.

I quote: "Things have gone so far that people sitting comfortably at their headquarters are constantly calling medical institutions, giving incompetent instructions, spreading all kinds of panic-mongering rumors, and conveying false information to the republican ministry of health, thereby diverting efforts from the organization of effective medical assistance to the victims."

The newspapers frankly describe the actions of the "Karabakh" leaders as provocation that is hampering the implementation of essential measures to rescue people.

The country made sanatoriums and vacation homes available to homeless women and children so as to save people from hunger and ruin, give them some peace, and heal their mental anguish. But the "Karabakh" activists, playing on national feelings, try to convince people that this humane act has a secret, sinister purpose—to deprive the Armenians of their homeland and scatter them around the country.

L.Kh. Chakhmakhchyan sets out in front of me one after another letter written in handwriting that is distorted so as to conceal the identity of the writer. The letters are, of course, anonymous. But they contain the "Karabakh" poison, echoes of antirestructuring sentiments that are hostile to the people. From pseudotheoretical arguments, the appointees of a corrupt mafia move on to

direct threats and insults against those who adhere to positions of loyalty and do everything to ensure that order and peace reign in the Armenian home.

A vile contamination is exuded by the lines addressed to Armenian Communist Party Central Committee workers:

"Give up your jobs. You are dancing to Moscow's tune. If you do not give up, your families and your children will pay for it...."

"Your struggle against 'Karabakh' and what you call corruption will not succeed...."

"A death sentence has been passed on you and will be systematically carried out. No more treason to the people!"

"Why don't they hand over Karabakh to us? Then they'll stop killing us, won't they? Is it true what pop says, that you only walk the earth on Moscow's instructions?"

This last "masterpiece" is supposedly sent from one Misha Asaturov, a second-grade schoolboy. But the true authorship stands out a mile from the part about "Moscow's instructions." The "Karabakh" activists do not have much knowledge of a child's psychology or vocabulary.

"Genius and malice are two incompatible things," a classical writer said. And it is true. You cannot play with people's future, the future of a talented and wise people, with impunity. You cannot allow irresponsible political adventurers to put spokes in the wheels of restructuring. And the mail arriving at the party committee in these terrible times of trial shows that the intelligence, energy, and conscience of the Armenian people are the true guarantees that the intrigues of the adventurers eager for power are doomed to fail.

Baku Commandant on Violations

LD1812134288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Announcement of the military commandant of Baku City Special District:

Calm prevails in the city. Troops and law enforcement bodies have concentrated on stopping violations of law and acts of hooliganism.

On 16 December, a criminal group involved in plundering apartments in the territory of Nizami and Shaumyan Rayons was apprehended by the officials of the Internal Affairs Department of Shaumyan Rayon. Included in the group are (?Sakhibov), ship's mechanic at Caspial Sea Line Directorate; Mastanov, a metal worker at Zabrat Agro-Industrial Association; Kuliyev, temporarily unemployed; and Kuliyev, a second-category invalid. All four had previously been tried. Criminal proceedings and an investigation have begun.

Aga-Rakhimov, a cashier of [word indistinct] of the republic's Ministry of Culture has been deemed criminally responsible for distilling vodka at home. Heads of a number of Baku enterprises and departments were called to strict administrative and party account for not having taken measures to create normal working situation in the collectives for which they are responsible.

On 16 and 17 December, 25 people were detained within the administrative regulations for having violated the 23 November 1988 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Some 249 people and 23 motor vehicles were detained during the 24 hours for not having complied with curfew and passport regime regulations.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City Special District

'Corrupt Clans' in Baku, Yerevan

PM1612173588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 4

[Own correspondent V. Sinitsyn report: "Reason Must Prevail"]

[Text] Azerbaijan—These tragic days of grief and suffering for Armenia, which have shaken all Soviet people, have also had a painful spiritual impact on Azerbaijan. A considerable number of facts show that the uncontrollable emotions and artificially inflamed feelings are receding. Reason is prevailing. The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Armenia and Azerbaijan and Mikhail Sergeyevich's interview with central television have opened the eyes of many to the lethal danger of the confrontation which has placed the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples on the brink of the abyss. More than 200,000 migrants from both sides, homes abandoned, futures smashed, blood shed...

Since time immemorial these two peoples have not just lived side by side but, in the words of the poet Samed Burgun, actually inside one another.... These are bonds that cannot be broken without tearing out your own heart. This is how people here are beginning to think today in the face of the Armenian people's tragedy. The hour of ordeal is also becoming the hour of awakening. Dozens of trucks carrying cranes, excavators, and building materials are being sent to the disaster zone. The oil and diesel fuel without which the motor vehicle convoys traveling day and night to Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan would grind to a halt are also being dispatched. Mobile refrigerator units with fruit and vegetables from sovkhozes in Lenkoran; flour, rice, and grain from grain product combines in Baku—these are also being sent.

Hundreds of thousands of rubles from industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, schools, and VUZ's have already been donated to the unfortunate bank account, No 700412.

"Now is not the time to think of grudges," N. Aliyev, hero of socialist labor and chairman of the Shaumyan kolkhoz, said. "We must help the victims of the tragedy. With bread and spiritual warmth. And, at the same time, we should also investigate who is profiting by inflaming interethnic tension and who is responsible for it. I am sure that the people are not to blame!"

I am told that when hundreds of Azerbaijani families were driven out of Stepanakert and the Armenians from Shusha, the two floods of persecuted people met on the road. People cried and embraced one another. "Do we need this, Akop?" the Azerbaijani Mamed asked. "Curse them all!" said a young Azerbaijani girl, pressing an old Armenian woman to her breast. "Take the key to my home."

Yes, that is really what happened. People exchanged the addresses and keys to their own homes and apartments. No condemnation, no word of insult. That is how the people act.

But someone—and more than one person!—separated the people from their homes and provoked riots, unlawful dismissals, robbery, violence. Those people existed and still exist. In Armenia and in Azerbaijan.

"We can now say with full justification," said I. Ismailov, Azerbaijan SSR prosecutor, "that the riots were organized by representatives of corrupt clans in both Baku and Yerevan. Restructuring has created a threat to their privileges and is putting a stop to their disgraceful behavior, flouting of all the norms of social justice, and disregard for our morality. They will stop at nothing to hold onto their positions. But no nationalist contrivances will conceal these immoral criminals."

There can be no doubt that this will happen. But at present the provocateurs are having a large measure of success in their playing on national feeling. When investigators from the USSR Prosecutor's Office began to investigate the scandalous embezzlements at Stepanakert's industrial construction materials combine, its director, A. Manucharov, offered resistance to the investigative group. An attack on the oblast prosecutor was prompted, work to expose the embezzlers paralyzed, and a strike called, which developed into arson attacks, pogroms, and violence. Manucharov has now been arrested and charges instituted against him. Not for his leadership of the infamous "Krunk" committee but for large-scale embezzlement of socialist property and accepting bribes worth thousands.

Embezzlers in Azerbaijan armed themselves, one could say, with criminal methods perfected in practice. At the end of November riots with nationalist overtones broke out in Shekinskiy Rayon. The actions of the criminals were primarily directed against those leading the investigation. The rayon prosecutor's office and rayon militia department were ransacked, as was that where the organizers of the riots supposed the criminal cases against embezzlers of public property on a particularly large scale and those who had abused their official positions were kept. The picture was the same in Kirovabad and Nakhichevan. To seize, destroy, erase the traces of many years of crime—this has been the main aim of bribetakers, embezzlers, and thieves. The aim justified anything in their eyes—even the foulest of methods.

Corrupt forces in Azerbaijan in fact joined forces with people similar to themselves from the disbanded "Krunk" committee in Nagorno Karabakh and "Karabakh" committee in Armenia. They acted as if they were all following the same script. To them, nothing was sacred. Here there was no talk of offended national feeling—here they were preparing a joint conspiracy against restructuring, a conspiracy against their own peoples.

"The organization of the riots in Azerbaijan has been directed by a secret 'think tank,'" V. Ilyukhin, first deputy chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Investigations Main Administration, said on republic television. This has also been discussed by Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku Special District. Plans had been prepared to further inflame matters and destabilize the situation in Baku and other regions of the republic. Their organizers will bear full responsibility before Soviet law.

However, a fact is a fact: Thousands of people have left the land in which they were born and worked and grew up. People in Armenia and Azerbaijan have applied to leave their jobs and many of them have been forced to do so by extremists of all colors. Far from all leaders have demonstrated civic courage and ideological maturity during these days.

Now the Azerbaijan party organization and administrative bodies are giving a principled assessment of the activity of those who have shown their lack of political substance. R. Gasanov, an engineer from Baku's 26 Baku Commissars Machine Repair Plant, has been dismissed from the CPSU by Nasiminskiy party raykom for inflammatory activity incompatible with the title of Communist and incitement of interethnic discord. Ye. Kurbanov, director of a local industry textile factory, has received a strict reprimand and had his report card endorsed, and has also been dismissed from his post. N. Kareyev, director of the "Stroydetal" plant, and K. Ganizade, deputy director of the republic consumer cooperative Bakpromkombinat, have been relieved of their duties for distancing themselves from leadership of their collectives in extreme situations. K. Garayev, deputy secretary of the Komsomol committee, has been

removed from candidate membership of the CPSU following a decision by the textile combine's party committee. The leaders of a number of ministries and departments in the republic have been removed from their posts.

The unsanctioned rallies and strikes have placed the republic in a difficult economic situation. Contractual obligations have been fulfilled by 97.7 percent and arrears to consumers have almost doubled and now stand at something like R250 million. Collectives working in conditions of economic accountability and self-financing have been hit particularly hard by these losses. They have lost considerable sums for their social development and material incentive funds. The fulfillment of the housing program has been seriously jeopardized. After all, if the time lost from strikes and absenteeism could be used to build homes, some 9,000 families could be having housewarming celebrations....

The normal working rhythm has now been fully restored in Azerbaijan's industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. Gradually, what has been lost is being restored. A turning point for the better is coming. Armenian families are returning to Baku, Kirovabad, and villages in Shemakhinskiy, Vartashenskiy, Ismaillinskiy, and a number of other rayons. People are returning to their work benches, building sites, fields, and farms. Organizational and political work by all party organizations must now concentrate on this.

Azerbaijan Intellectuals Meet

NC1712083288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] As has been reported, Abdul Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting with the republic's cultural experts, scholars, and representatives of scientific administrations, creative unions, and mass media organs. The meeting began with the presentation of a video recording of the short statement Mikhail Gorbachev made prior to his departure from Yerevan.

The speakers at the meeting said that Azerbaijan's people and intellectuals well understand the uneasiness and anxiety Gorbachev expressed in connection with the incidents in the region. The Soviet leader's assessment, from the party's viewpoint, of the objectives of the political demagogues, adventurers, and [words indistinct] elements, who are struggling for sovereignty and creating discord between the two peoples, has been approved by all the people in Azerbaijan.

The speakers noted that the Azerbaijan aktivs, who are rallying closely around the party, will continue to participate fully in the reconstruction process and in the reform of the life of society on the basis of the principles of democratization and openness in the future.

Vezirov said at the end of the meeting: I hope that Azerbaijan's scientific, literary, and fine arts officials will make worthy contributions to the struggle for reconstruction.

Comrades Zaynalov and Alekperov and Elmira Kafarova, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, were present at the meeting.

CPSU Control Committee Criticizes Tatar Leaders

LD1812214788 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—The party control committee at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has discussed the question of the tolerance of Communists—leaders of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to shortcomings in servicing housing facilities and public utilities. [sentence as received]

The resolution adopted says that the republic's government does not ensure the fulfilment of the resolution of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of April 8, 1987 "on measures for upgrading the servicing of housing facilities and public utilities in the country".

It is emphasized that there has been no improvement in the servicing of housing facilities and public utilities since the resolution of April 8, 1987 was issued. Specifically, there is a large incidence of breakdowns of heating, water supply and sewerage systems, irregularity in the supply of water, heat, electricity.

This is largely a result of the fact that the Council of Ministers of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic's Ministry of Housing Facilities and Public Utilities have a careless attitude to the population's needs.

The volume of the construction of public utilities made up 24 per cent of housing construction in 1986 and dropped to 18 per cent in 1987, which is much lower than the average ratio for the Russian federation. Water consumption per one resident in ten cities was half the established norm. Seventeen cities have no biological purification of sewerage. The housing problem is resolved slowly. Meanwhile the housing legislation is violated in the republic on a mass scale. The questions of the transfer of the departments' housing stock at the disposal of local soviets are resolved in an unsatisfactory way.

The party Control Committee at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee imposed party penalties on a number of leading officials of the republic for the shortcomings in their work.

Yakovlev Addresses Perm Election Conference

Discusses Socialist Development

LD1612215588 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Perm December 16 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, addressing a regional party conference that opened in Perm, the Russian Federation on Friday [16 December], dwelt on issues related to the development of socialist society.

"Socialism has firmly established itself and has accumulated an impressive initial potential," he said.

"It has advanced rather far in its development for its productive forces to demand new relations in society. The realisation of that was late, and practice was even more behind. This led to the retardation of social and economic development. This is the crisis of development that has acquired a form of stagnation."

Yakovlev spoke in detail about the course of perestroyka, or restructuring, in the country, about its topical problems. Perestroyka was not merely an address to new formulas and solutions, he said. "It is an address with the question: What will they give to the working people, the nation, the country, and socialism?"

Characterising internal contradictions of perestroyka, Yakovlev said that feedback was broken, in many cases non-existent altogether at all tiers and levels of managing the life of society.

Hence the need for restructuring political relations. Democratisation, glasnost, or openness, and legality and responsiblity are the main directions of political reform. All that combined mean socialist self-government of the people, he observed.

Yakovlev dwelt on some issues of international life and foreign policy of the Soviet Communist Party. "Our reply to these questions is in new political thinking," he said.

"Its principal features are in addressing everything new that distinguishes the present-day world and determines its original character and most probable trends of its development.

"New political thinking lay chief emphasis on the idea of development in the most straightforward and direct form," Yakovlev went on to say.

"New political thinking means reviewing profoundly all traditions of power politics and going far beyond its limits. The correlation of social forces on a global scale is such that it makes it possible to advance as a purely practical goal the task of eradicating military, violent forms in relationships between countries and peoples. "They should be replaced with forms of political, legal solution of contradictions and conflicts."

It would be basically wrong to reduce the problem of universal human interests and values only to tasks of survival, Yakovlev said.

"It will be accompanied by tasks far more complex: organisation of international life on fair, sensible and rational principles. Organisation of a nuclear-free world that should learn to handle its problems peacefully and with due account for the interests of all sides concerned.

"The notion of universal human values, speaking specifically, means to prevent nuclear war. To stop the dangerous degradation of the environment. To knock out from the hands of reactionaries such weaponry as the possibility to set peoples against one another. To feed the hungry, heal the sick and teach the ignorant. To prevent crisis upheavals that affect millions of ordinary people. To ensure social and economic development, overcome backwardness, achieve progress in science and culture, exchange genuine spiritual values and protect mankind's moral sphere from pollution and poisoning."

Yakovlev noted that none of the universal human interests contradicted the ideals and goals of socialism. "On the contrary, the better, fuller and safe any one or all these universal human interests are in today's world, the stronger the position of our country," he said.

TV Reports Conference

LD1712121588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An oblast report-back and election party conference has taken place in Perm. The Western Urals detachment of Communists consists of more than 170,000 people. Over the past 3 years the party ranks of the oblast have been joined by 16,000 Communists. The speakers observed that one of the main tasks at the present time is to shape the new economic thinking. This is linked first and foremost with switching industry as a whole onto the new conditions of economic management from the beginning of next year. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev took part in the confernce. In his speech he said, among other things:

[Begin Yakovlev recording] Comrades! The tasks that the oblast party organization is faced with solving in this regard are great, varied in their nature, and complicated. They were discussed in the meeting of the Central Committee of 3 December 1986 on the work of the Perm obkom. They were also talked about in today's report and in the speeches of the delegates. With a hand on one's heart, one has to admit that virtually all the work

still lies ahead, particularly insofar as the person is concerned, in the social sphere and in satisfying the people's most vital and generally still fairly modest demands.

The potential of the oblast here is enormous, but poor use is made of this potential and it is not used in an efficient way. There is a great deal of evidence that this is so. But let us take, for instance, the following aspect which might, perhaps, be a somewhat unexpected one—the number and character of the letters which the Central Committee receives from your oblast. Perm Oblast is one of the regions in the Russian Federation which stands out due to the high level of activity with regard to appeals by the population to the Central Committee in written and oral form, both as regartds the absolute number of such appeals and their relative number compared to the size of the population. You occupy fifth place in the RSFSR overall for the number of appeals. Attention is drawn to the fact that an absolute majority of oral and written appeals to the Central Committee express requests and complaints which are capable of being solved and must be solved locally.

Worst of all is the fact that for a number of years the Central Committee has been receiving more letters from the oblast than has the obkom. During the first 11 months of this year alone there were 1,500 more letters than were sent directly to the obkom. And during these same 11 months, more of the oblast's inhabitants made approaches to the Central Committee reception office than during the whole of last year—and one in seven of these was a member of the party. Think about this. It is a serious warning indicating that things are not right. It is essential to be closer to the people. If this does not happen neither the food problem, the housing problem, the ecology problem, nor many of the other problems that have been discussed today are going to be resolved. That is why one has to agree resolutely with those speakers who insist on an intensification of the level of exactingness being applied to those in charge of some specific task and to those officials whose eyes widen when they read or hear criticism of themselves but who become blind when they have to see disorder within the sphere of their own responsibilities. This is a large issue in restructuring, a radical one, I would say. That is why I was impressed by the concern of Margarita Petrovna Kotelnikova when she said that morality cannot be seaprated from social conditions, from the environment in which one lives, from the behavior of society, and its attitude to raising the level of knowledge and culture. I think that problems in this sphere are approaching a critical point.

Here is the main sphere for party work. The restructuring of both the party and the state apparatus is aimed precisely at this. When we speak about the contradictions of restructuring, about unresolved tasks, about as yet unfulfilled hopes, then we are obliged as members of the ruling party to hold ourselves responsible. We are answerable for everything. It is immoral, just as it is politically mistaken, to make anyone else hostages for failure, be they young people or the intelligentsia, newspapers or informal organizations, the world bourgeoisie or political demagogues, or strutting actors polishing their ambition. No, comrades, let us admit the first conviction and agree that we are answerable for everthing. It is we who have raised the level of people's activity. It is we who are answerable for this. It is up to us to lead the masses of the working people forward; it is up to us to construct the restructuring. It is only by the energy of Communists and only by moving forward along the path of restructuring, democracy, and social transformation that the party's vanguard role can be ensured, only its critical attitude toward others and toward itself, its realism and sober evaluations, modesty and avoidance of self-deception genuinely serving the people.

The people today judge us by the truth of what we say, by our standards of probity and honesty, by our conscience, by our ability to share the people's pains, anxieties, and hopes. I am sure that the party will pass the historical test which it has set for itself. I am sure that the Perm party organization will pass it, too. [end recording]

Asian Republic Leaders Meet in Frunze

PM1612174988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Strengthening Unity and Friendship"]

[Text] Frunze, 15 Dec—Questions of strengthening economic and cultural contacts and improving working people's international and patriotic education were discussed at a meeting between the leaders of three fraternal republics' party organizations that has ended here. G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee; and A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, took part in it.

Great attention was devoted to improving interethnic relations and creating conditions for the harmonious development of national and Russian bilingualism and to the need to take into full consideration the interests of all citizens living in multiethnic republics.

Lithuanian Prime Minister on Restructuring

PM1612140188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, by own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy in Vilnius: "Everything Is Within Our Power. Unfestive Interview With Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, on the Jubilee of Soviet Power in Lithuania"; date not given]

[Text] Vilnius—[Kapelyushnyy] There was a time when a jubilee interview was considered a breeze. We would have certainly begun our conversation with the successes

scored by the republic's working people in honor of the glorious anniversary. We would have recalled that bourgeois Lithuania was backward and agrarian, that the working class numbered only about 100,000 people, but that now the republic manufactures in just 5 days as much output as it did in the whole of 1940, that its output is exported to 100 countries of the world, that Lithuania's agricultural output is 2.5 times greater than in 1940....

[Sakalauskas] Of course, the proper tone for today is one of criticism and self-criticism, and comparisons with 1940 evoke ironic smiles, but here is what I think. Every day millions of our compatriots report for work at livestock units, factories, and plants; they build and plow, and this goes to produce indicators of which nobody should ever be ashamed. I see nothing wrong in expressing thanks to working people, especially on a festive occasion. It is a different matter that the results of our labor could be better and weightier. But this is already a different question, and in the quest for answers to it we would invariably take the path, well-trodden by contemporary journalism, of criticizing the administrative edict system, the cost-based mechanism of economic management, the ruinous effect of overcentralization, and so on.

I think there will come a time when our analysts ask themselves: What advantage did we take of the opportunities provided by the Soviet system to develop the economy, culture, and the people's spiritual life? After all, today it is possible to have two kolkhozes in the same region, one next to the other, and yet one is a prince while the other is a pauper. The fact that you have crossed from one republic into another can be seen in the quality of highways, the appearance of settlements, and even the mood of people. How come we have flowering oases and squalid sties? The conclusion is: Much depends on ourselves, on man, and not just on the prevailing system.... Only then would it perhaps be appropriate to cite the figures with which Lithuania is greeting the jubilee. Not to boast, but as food for thought—during the 1st 3 years of the 5-year plan period, the growth of produced national income reached 15.2 percent, as against a planned level of 11.4 percent. We will receive 15.7 percent more industrial output even though only 10.6 percent was planned. We are building more housing, schools and preschool institutions, and cultural establishments than planned. Without delving any deeper into statistics, it is important to note the main point: Lithuania's economy is marked by a switch to the path of intensification, and its improvement has been achieved through increased labor productivity (14 percent, as against the planned 9.6 percent).

I deem it necessary to cite these figures also because some people's opinions differ—nothing, they say, has changed in the time of restructuring. Why and how our economic reform is not getting off the ground is a separate issue. There is, however, one thing I would like to stress: People's efforts are not in vain.

[Kapelyushnyy] We usually trace our successes back to the distant revolutionary years. But what about the failures? Especially in the sphere of national building and the development of science and culture? Research work and historical writings have covered in detail the events in late 1918, when the Communist Party was founded in Lithuania and Soviet power was proclaimed. Less has been said about the mistakes of the first government. The reality of the proclamation of Lithuania's independence on 16 February 1918 is glossed over.

[Sakalauskas] The first Soviet republic in Lithuania lasted a very short while. I would not take it upon myself to pass judgment on the activity of our revolution's leaders V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas and Z. Angaretis. I would only repeat what is generally recognized: They failed to take into account the national features of the Lithuanians' character. The sturdy, plodding, and assiduous farm owners were much more concerned with their land and their farms than with world revolution. They wanted the new power to give them land, but it set up communes. Tsarist Russia's functionaries insulted their national dignity, but even under the new power not a single word in Lithuanian was to be heard in any of the central institutions.... No, the idea of national independence can easily entice anyone and overshadow all social problems. The bourgeoisie took advantage of this. The Lithuanian military subunits it set up, with the help of the German occupiers, stifled the inexperienced proletarian power. The Communist Party went underground.

[Kapelyushnyy] Could it be said that the former miscalculations of the first Soviet Government have been remedied by the present one...

[Sakalauskas] They are being remedied—that would be more correct. We have reinstated in Lithuania's Constitution the articles concerning language and national symbols. The concept of the new constitution whose draft is being elaborated in the republic is based on the Leninist perception of federation and the principles of Lithuania's sovereignty. Over the 3 years of restructuring the republic's government and Communist Party have done much to restore historical and social justice. Suffice it to say that we have finally dotted all the "i's" as regards the question of the deportation of Lithuanians as "kulaks" in 1940-1953. A resolution was adopted on the payment of compensation for material damage suffered by them. This will cost the republican budget approximately R0.5 billion.

While clearing away the debris of deformed socialism, we are still encountering more or less the same problems. Lithuania was unable to avoid gigantomania in agriculture and industry, it lacked the power to object to central departments when it came to the deployment of productive forces, it went through the painful experience of forced collectivization, and so on.

Soviet power was reborn in Lithuania in 1940. Any schoolchild will tell you about its voluntary entry into the Soviet Union. The Sejm deputation comprised the Lithuanian people's best sons and daughters. That is a fact. And our official propaganda often makes use of it. But it is somehow not too accurate in its assessment of subsequent events. These events are as follows: The Lithuanian people shared the tragic fate of all peoples in the union—they voluntarily joined the USSR, opened their borders to the Red Army without a shot being fired, yet only 10 months later trainloads of innocent victims of repressions were on their way to Siberia. This perfidy by Stalin's regime is alive in their memory to this day. It also overshadows the fact that in the historical situation at the time Lithuania essentially had no more acceptable alternative to joining the union.

You have to be blind, deaf, and dumb to the truth to accuse Russian peasants, Russian workers, or members of the intelligentsia, in other words the people, of the crimes committed against Lithuanians. But this is exactly what our ideological adversaries are doing, skillfully taking advantage of the fact that official historical science is hewing to orthodox positions.

[Kapelyushnyy] The prestige of Soviet power is built not only on achievements but also on an honest admission of mistakes, on the ability to analyze them and not to repeat them. The situation which developed in Lithuania this fall was described thus: The government and the party Central Committee have lost control over events occurring in the republic....

[Sakalauskas] I do not think this assessment is correct. Had we lost control, had we lost our grip on the situation, matters could have ended up badly. Not only for the party and government apparatus, but also for the people. It cannot be denied that our radicals' appeals to build a prosperous society appear attractive. But one must proceed on the basis of realities. Take an example that anyone can understand. Our best commodities and output are for export. The Lithuanian SSR produces export goods to the value of R500 million in wholesale prices. They are delivered to 14 socialist countries, 22 capitalist countries, and 61 developing countries. Their structure is as follows: Petroleum products account for 40 percent, products of the machine building and metalworking industries account for 30 percent, the fishing industry accounts for 10 percent, the timber industry accounts for 6 percent, and Gosagroprom and light industry output accounts for only 4 percent of the total volume. The volume of imports is now more than double that of exports....

I will not bore you by listing the measures we have taken to normalize this situation. It was important to convince the people that the main task of restructuring was not to destroy but to build. It was important to convince them, not to impose prohibitions.... At times we lost the initiative, at other times we made mistakes, but this is perfectly natural in conditions of democracy.

At this point, as someone dealing with the economy and national economic problems, I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to say the following: If there are no detergents or bread in the stores, if a water pipe bursts, or if power supplies are interrupted, nobody telephones or writes to, say, the Popular Front. People go to the city soviet chairman or the raykom secretary. The organs of Soviet power, apart from global and human problems, have to deal with the thankless task of solving problems of daily life.

[Kapelyushnyy] At least two questions arise in this context. The first: How is the soviets' prestige to be consolidated? The second concerns republican economic autonomy, which is thought to be capable of solving most of the problems facing us. How do you perceive it? What complications arise concerning its elaboration and implementation?

[Sakalauskas] Some suspicious citizens perceive covert separatism in the concept of economic autonomy. Aha, they think, these Lithuanians (or Estonians, Latvians, Belorussians) are doing everything to grab as much as they can for themselves and later maybe even to secede. However, the idea of economic autonomy is based on ensuring high living standards for oneself and for everyone else. We propose replacing the administrative edict methods with economic ones and making the all-union market the basis of the economic mechanism. Only on this basis will it be possible to implement enterprise economic accountability and fair exchange between regions.

As of 1 January 1989 virtually all enterprises in the production sector and the nonproduction sphere will transfer to full economic accountability. This will be the first step toward autonomy. In our view, the republic ought to have jurisdiction over questions of economic policy, the formation of republican and local budgets, and other questions of economic development. It is hardly possible to regard as normal a situation whereby, for example, 90 percent of our republic's industrial potential is under the jurisdiction of union ministries and departments outside our sphere of influence. What is the meaning of the soviets' power if it extends only to local industry? We think the republic must be given the right to determine its own export policy. This will inevitably have an effect on the overall standards of commodity quality and the introduction of competitive technologies.

Something else must be said. Many rumors and much idle talk are circulating about economic autonomy. The central press does not always cover this topic knowledgeably.

Are failures likely to occur along the path of implementing economic autonomy? I think one of the dangers lies in wait for us in what is traditionally something of a bottleneck—the rights and autonomy of soviets. Much has been said about this, and decisions have been

adopted. But let us be realistic and admit that the soviet, as always, is not a master of its territory; it lacks a firm material and financial base, and it is of secondary importance compared not only with party but also with economic organs.

The soviet should formulate at least part of the state orders for enterprises on its territory. Now it is not even consulted about state orders. It must be the master of resources for the comprehensive development of its cities or settlements.

Restructuring has demonstrated the tremendous creative potential of the masses. I could cite numerous instances in which, thanks to the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, many pressing questions have been resolved. The public, without waiting to be given powers, has taken on the functions of monitoring the observance of the principles of social justice, the observance of socialist legality, and so on. I will not speak of the movement's mistakes. The important point is that vast numbers of people are involved in restructuring. This is essential. We have always said we are doing everything for the people, and yet it is so necessary to attain our goals through the people, with their direct participation....

Looking back over the past 70 years, we perceive that the Lithuanian people have traveled an important section of the historical path. It has brought mistakes and successes, victories and disappointments. We are interpreting the lessons of the past and are objectively evaluating the past and the present. I think my compatriots will back me when I say that never before has there been so much hope in our hearts. The time of hope is wonderful because it gives us strength and prompts action by everyone in whom the spirit of freedom and creativity is alive.

Zhilys Interviewed on Lithuanian Constitution

LD1612145988 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 7 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Juozas Zhilys, head of the legal department of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by TIESA correspondent Vytautas Kaltenis: "On the Road to Legal Government;" date, place not given]

[Text] [Kaltenis] Discussion of constitutional topics currently serves to increasingly excite the public. Various opinions and concepts are expressed in publications and special literature regarding our country's and our republic's fundamental tenets, as well as suggestions for their improvement. How could one briefly describe the Constitution, its purpose and essence?

[Zhilys] In brief, the Constitution is a country's fundamental law, which determines public order, political tenets, the individual's rights and duties, the privileges of its citizens, and the principles and reasons behind founding a country. Thus, the Constitution of any given country is both a judicial and a political declaration. Frequently, the subject gives rise to active discussions; however, it is in essence uncomplicated. A Constitution's political aspect stems from the fact that it embodies principles of political and economic systems and social development and culture, as well as those of foreign policy.

The specificity of a Constitution, as a judicial document, rests in the fact that it is accepted by the highest level of a national government or by a specifically established body. Throughout history other means of adopting a Constitution where also employed. Nevertheless, a Constitution is always based on judicial tenets and, for this reason, always wields the highest authority.

A fundamental law reveals the structure and basic characteristics in the competency of the supreme government bodies, their institutions and their regard for local government, as well as many other questions. Finally, the Constitution is a legal structure according to which laws are disseminated; that is laws are adopted which evolve from constitutional tenets, which in turn reinforce them.

[Kaltenis] Please clarify why the updating of the Constitution is currently one of the most significant issues in public life?

[Zhilys] Generally speaking, it may be stated that society always uses the Constitution to base its social, economic, and political expectations. Each individual, family, or social group values the basic law as a legal guarantee of its rights and legitimate interests. It is evident that many of the political decisions of the 19th Supreme Soviet conference will be officially registered in the Constitution, i.e. they will acquire a national character. Finally, one must keep in mind that a Constitution not only legally defines the existing structure of public relations, but also provides room for their expansion. It is possible to state even at this time that the new constitutional content will have to undertake a vital role in our future.

[Kaltenis] What new fundamental problems prompt constitutional improvement?

[Zhilys] Many exist. There is probably no reason to name them all. Two of them need to be stressed, however. They are: economic problems and expansion of democracy. These can not be separated. It is wholly apparent that without economic management and democratization, it is impossible to realize projected plans for material production increase. Thus, it may be stated with certainty that economic reform is more responsible for improving the Constitution. Adoption of new agricultural principles and structures broadens the possibilities for labor collective creativity. The logical extension of such activity results in regional (rayon, city) and republic-level economic self-support. All this will surely find a reflection in the Constitution. Let us examine social and foreign policy questions now. Sociopolitical directions are greatly changing at the present time. The individual

and his needs are at center stage. Humanist endeavors and moral values are gaining importance in the area of foreign policy, while international confrontation is decreasing. What about ecological problems? They also become goals for diplomatic efforts and international agreements. A new attitude is evolving toward courts, procuracy, arbitration, and lawyers. All of this is to be reflected in the Constitution.

[Kaltenis] Does it occur very frequently in world government practice that a fundamental law is improved and adjusted?

[Zhilys] Practice for adopting and changing constitutions is diverse. We touched upon this at the start of our conversation. As a rule, a Constitution becomes subject to change whenever the entire Constitution or any of its individual laws are not in harmony with existing public, (economic, political), relations and the constitutional norms become a hindrance to their development. For instance, the U.S. Constitution has been in existence for more than 200 years. It contains more than 30 amendments. Comparatively speaking, the USSR Constitution and those of its republics are changed quite frequently.

In general terms, a Constitution is the most stable politically juridical act. Its changes and adoption follow a certain prescribed order. Thus, the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR is being changed according to Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies. It is projected that other countries will require three-fourths of the vote. Although constitutions may greatly vary in content, they do possess some similarities. They all determine the format for state government and the system of government. In some governments limitations are defined more concretely than in others. This, for example, may involve citizens' rights and freedoms.

[Kaltenis] What concrete improvements could be made in the current Constitution and why? What supplements are projected and why?

[Zhilys] First of all, one must stress the fact that the current Constitution reflects an earlier political order in our society. New times are currently making new demands. Society wishes to express itself in terms of the times. Constitutional changes and amendments will be deliberated at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session, which will then adopt collective decisions. Currently we can only discuss what proposals have already been made and what concepts are being formed.

We have already touched on adjusting the Constitution in connection with the economic system. We must now also state that there cannot be alternative decisions in the Constitution. Its articles will consolidate that which is more positive and for which common conclusions have been drawn.

While on the subject of the legal bases for plan and budgetary considerations, one must keep in mind the resolution adopted by the 19th joint conference of the CPSU: "Concerning National Relations," which constantly stresses the necessity for establishing, in a qualified manner, a new mechanism for republican and local budget preparation. This would, in essence, expand their role in regional, economic, and social development questions.

Even now there exist various opinions concerning a public political system and its component structures. For example, those concerning the section of the Constitution which contains an outline of the political system. New regulations may appear to give a more detailed characterization of the state's role.

The Constitution will have to reflect more accurately the functions of labor collectives. Those sections which determine the status of public organizations may also be adjusted.

Much is to be corrected in the area of the Constitution which defines the basic rights, freedoms, and duties of its citizens. Broad discussion centers in the republic on the definition of Lithuanian SSR citizenship and the social and economic implications of this political institution. Many questions may be raised while attempting to implement proposals concerning Lithuanian SSR citizenship. First, how to ensure the rights and legitimate interests of Lithuanian SSR citizens who reside in other union republics? How should guarantees be established? In general terms, a situation is envisioned whereby republic citizens, having spent a certain amount of time in the republic's territory, would then be entitled to certain additional social and economic rights (problems of migration). In other words, this would initiate that classic qualification of settlers which is widely employed in many foreign countries. Finally, we should be aware of the fact that legal and public relations in citizens issues are not considered independently but as derivative offshoots from the general federal relations concept. All this should be considered while undertaking practical operations. Perhaps more concrete suggestions will be made for constitutional articles related to freedom of conscience and citizens' participation in dealing with state and public affairs. Contents of Constitution Article 51 should be broadened in order to expand the role of the family.

[Kaltenis] Our conversation clarifies the fact that editorial work on the existing Constitution has been, in many instances, updated. There remain, however, some problems of interest to the republic inhabitants. Let us examine, for instance, general questions on expanding democracy. What needs to be stressed in this respect?

[Zhilys] It is now totally clear that the section of the Constitution where decisions are made and authorized relative to government and government organ functions

will change considerably. Concrete proposals are prepared to improve elections. Here new democratic voting principles will be consolidated.

Without going into detail about the new structure of government and its organs, I would like to call your attention to several aspects of this matter. First of all, we are striving, by means of future reform, to establish a mechanism whereby a parliament—maybe it will be called that—with all the conclusions which stem from that, will really function and fulfill its high responsibilities. State organs will function more effectively under the control of economic independence and political authority of local soviets.

Service supervision, which was mentioned in party documents, will be charged with implementation of constitutional laws. I think the establishment of such a center is totally well-founded, supported, and understandable, especially now that the public is so concerned with the practical applications of constitutional laws.

A more concrete definition of public principles needs to become a constitutional regime and the formulation of the socialist, legal state. This is universally understood because in many respects democratic institutions have clearly deteriorated,and exhibit aspects not acceptable to the public.

[Kaltenis] What comment could be made on the statute denoting Lithuanian as a state language within the Constitution?

[Zhilys] Information concerning this subject has already been given to the press. It stated that the question was deliberated by the Commission for Ideology, Culture, Science and Education under the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. It approved the project prepared by the Institute for Lithuanian Language and Literature. This document has been placed before the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium. It will be examined in the near future by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet; until that time the project may also be discussed by permanent commissions. It is also worth keeping in mind that on 15 August a decision was adopted by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers: "For Additional Measures for Improvement and Learning in the Republic of the Lithuanian Language, Literature, Lithuanian SSR History and Geography."

[Kaltenis] I have heard that in the past the republic's government adopted decisions concerning wider use of the Lithuanian language in national organizations. For instance, Lithuanian SSR Soviet of People's Commissars, back on 14 April 1941 adopted a decision which made it compulsory for all those arriving for work in Soviet Lithuania to learn the Lithuanian langauge. According to a Lithuanian SSR People's Commissar decision of 28 April 1944, those working in Lithuania, in agricultural or other offices, and not knowing or with very limited knowledge of Lithuanian, were instructed to learn Lithuanian. These documents were signed by M. Gedvilas, chairman of Soviet People's Commissars and A. Bauzha, chairman, Affairs Section, Soviet of People's Commissars. Too bad that little effort was exerted in carrying out these decisions thoroughly.

How can the proposal for the improvement of the Constitution be characterized?

[Zhilys] Residents of the republic and labor collectives are showing great interest in the prospect of improving the Constitution. They often ask how this or that proposal has fared and whether it will merit consideration. Initially I wish to point out that there is no cause for alarm. All proposals shall be evaluated and examined attentively.

It was mentioned in the press on several occasions that an action group has been established by a Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree to concentrate, define, and provide conclusions on proposals for improving the Constitution. This working group, in turn, set up three sections. One is conducting a thorough investigation of proposals for the Constitution; the second will prepare a law relating to the local soviets of deputies, and the third will prepare the election law. Currently many questions focusing on the above questions are before the presidium. Creative associations, the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, several public organizations, as well as citizens have expressed their concepts for the Constitution. Public opinion is the most important factor in forming such proposals. Evaluations are awaited from the republic's rayons and city soviets, science institutions, and state organs.

Constitutional analysis and proposals to change it have acquired a basis for practical action. Various opposing ideas will undoubtedly come into conflict. Such is the normal process for establishing laws characteristic of a cultured society. I would consider as unacceptable any position that is set forth as totally nonargumentative. A wise lawmaker totally appraises all the conditions and premises prior to making any decisions.

A planned meeting of the Section for the Improvement of the Constitution was held yesterday. Proposals given by the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences for the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR were examined then. An article by Academician, L. Vilkas, explaining these proposals, was published in TIESA. The meeting also discussed problems in the USSR Constitution. More on this will be announced in the press.

Actual proposals for changes and amendments to the Constitution will be presented for public deliberation.

Bukhara Conference Follows Old Pattern

P/41612153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Artemenko report: "The Old Scenario: Notes From the Bukhara Oblast Party Conference]

[Text] Bukhara—Three days before the conference, obkom members were in good heart: The majority of Communists were familiar with the theses of the main report and city and rayon conferences had democratically nominated around 200 candidates for the oblast party organization's elected organs.... They were confident that the conference would be vigorous and interesting.

The report delivered by Obkom First Secretary D. Yadgarov enabled each deputy to see for himself that the progress of restructuring in the oblast is difficult. The positive changes observed recently do not ensure radical changes in working people's lives. The obkom and party committees have still not managed to overcome or eliminate the inertia of the old approaches to the management of the economic and social sphere. Organizational and political work have not improved. Extensive factors prevail in industry. Contractual commitments for supplies are not being fully met and a number of enterprises are failing to meet profit plans. There has been major disruption in capital construction.

The situation in the agro-industrial complex is changing only slowly. There is a chronic shortage of consumer goods. Thefts, overreporting, and bribery persist in the services sphere. The obkom and other party committees have shown an acute lack of commitment and firmness in the campaign to improve the moral atmosphere and have failed to eradicate the callous, formal, and bureaucratic attitude toward people's needs and requests.

More than 900 people have been prosecuted for embezzlement alone in Bukhara Oblast in the past 3 years, and criminals have caused the state damage amounting to more than R7 million. During the same period 80 people have been caught taking bribes, and over 650 people have been expelled from the CPSU including around 100 oblast and rayon leaders, as have 17 party workers, 12 of whom were former raykom first secretaries. Most obkom workers have been replaced. Former First Secretary A. Karimov has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for bribery. He was replaced by I. Dzhabbarov, who also disgraced himself and was recently dismissed, removed from the list of candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, expelled from the party, and arrested.

All these facts were grounds for profound alarm and an honest analysis of the oblast party organization's work. Unfortunately there was no open or incisive discussion at the conference. To a large extent it followed the old scenario.

How did delegates evaluate the style and methods of the oblast party staff's work? Take, for example, the speech of I. Salimov, first secretary of Bukhara gorkom. He tried to criticize the obkom but only in general terms without naming actual names. Similar speeches were delivered by Sh. Khayrullayev, oblast trade union council chairman, and other speakers—they didn't mention a single obkom bureau member by name. The personal responsibility of the leading Communists became dissolved, as it were, in a stream of glib phrases.

A tense situation persists in the agro-industrial complex, which is in the charge of obkom Secretary V. Razmayev. The countryside's potential is being used inefficiently. In 3 years the oblast has built up a state debt of hundreds of thousands of tonnes of grain, cotton, vegetables, fruit, and other produce. The yield of agricultural crops, especially grain crops and potatoes, remains low. Seed cultivation is neglected. There are many unresolved problems in stockraising and feed production. The party's leadership of the sector has clearly slackened, but none of the speakers leveled any complaints at the obkom secretary.

Virtually all the speakers talked about land and equipment, bolts and pasturage, cotton and water. You can see their point to some extent—people were concerned about matters in their own collectives. But why did they choose a party conference platform for a discussion of economic problems?

Until November S. Bakhronova was obkom secretary for ideological questions. For a long time many complaints were leveled at her both by the oblast's Communists and the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. Despite that she stayed in place—and merely harmed the cause.

Or take, for example, work among women. What, other than inefficient such work, can be the reason for the instances of self-immolation? There have been more than 50 cases in the past 3 years. It is a pity that neither the report nor the debates mentioned the names of S. Bakhronova and V. Salamov, chief of the obkom ideological department, who bear direct responsibility for shortcomings in political work.

The conference' criticism was leveled at the editorial office of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA. In the past 2 years the obkom organ has become appreciably more militant and is waging an uncompromising struggle against manifestations of complacency. But sometimes journalists commit excesses or inexactitudes. The obkom should help journalists rid themselves of haste and a lack of objectivity, but instead it colluded with them, as it were. Nor was there a rebuttal of the position of those people who are unaccustomed to the light of glasnost and who exploit press mistakes to settle scores with correspondents.

How are the party obkom and raykoms assimilating the political methods of leadership? A. Almeyev, first secretary of Bukharskiy party raykom, Kh. Ergashev, first secretary of Romitanskiy party raykom, and A. Muminov, first secretary of Shafirkanskiy party raykom, made no mention of this and devoted their speeches to purely economic problems. So, how are relations between party and soviet organs shaping up today? The oblispolkom chairman gave the following picture:

Instead of engaging in agitation and propaganda work and visiting labor collectives more, raykom workers often supplant soviets and economic organs.

Unfortunately, this theme was not developed in other delegates' speeches. There was a monotonous reading of prepared texts. Even the chairman's appeal not to deliver reports amounting to self-justification but to give scope to criticism and self-criticism and to analyze the obkom's activity did not help. Then another appeal was heard—that the microphones placed in the hall be used to deliver brief accounts. What was the result? Speakers approached the microphones but once again with those sheets of paper in their hands and those long speeches on economic themes.

The final address was delivered by D. Yadgarov:

"I do not think I would be wrong if I said the discussion of the keynote report has taken place in an atmosphere of businesslike work and high exactingness. This has been an open party discussion on the most important matter that concerns Communists and all working people in the oblast today. The spirit of principled party criticism and self-criticism prevails at the conference."

Where did these bombastic words come from? Probably the minutes of some past meeting... They must have been copied out for the keynote speaker long before the event, and he had no inclination to edit them.

Apparently, someone drew D. Yadgarov's attention to the unjustified assessments of the course of the conference because on the second day, when opening the morning session, he delivered what sounded like another closing address, this time on the theme that the delegates had been passive, constrained, and even indifferent. Then something unpredictable happened: People approached the platform.... But the chairman of the teller's commission [schetnaya komissiya] had already called the delegates to vote.

I heard many delegates say that a competent obkom had been elected. Well, it has got quite a lot of work to do to establish restructuring.

Economic

Export-Import, Joint Ventures Promoted

PM1412144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution "On Further Developing the Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations."

With the aim of substantially expanding the sphere of foreign economic ties, vigorously involving enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in this work, further simplifying the current procedure for organizing foreign economic ties, implementing them in the conditions of genuine foreign currency cost recovery, and making consistent use of commodity-money relations, the USSR Council of Ministers has resolved:

As from 1 April 1989 to grant to all enterprises, associations, production cooperatives (Footnote) (The provisions of the current resolution relating to production cooperatives also apply to all cooperatives implementing production activity and to unions [associations] of them), and other organizations whose output (work, services) is competitive on the foreign market the right to directly implement export-import operations. Export-import operations are to be implemented on the basis of foreign currency cost recovery, and the results form an organic part of the results of economic activity and influence the formation of economic incentives funds and foreign currency funds.

Enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations can implement export-import operations directly, creating for this purpose, where necessary, economically accountable foreign trade firms, or can implement them on a contractual basis via other foreign economic organizations, being guided here by the achievement of the best conditions for exports and imports, foreign currency cost recovery, and self-financing and proceeding from the premise that the state is not responsible for their obligations. The normatives for foreign currency deductions set for enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations remain the same regardless of the foreign economic organization through which the export of their output (work, services) is implemented.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry are instructed within 1 month to formulate and present to the USSR Council of Ministers

proposals for the creation of a system for registering enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations implementing the export-import operations.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission is granted the right, at the submission of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and union republic councils of ministers, to suspend the implementation of export-import operations by enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations in cases where unscrupulous competition occurs or their activity damages the state's interests.

With the aim of creating the conditions for boosting efficiency in the sale of Soviet goods and services on the foreign market, eliminating unwarranted competition between Soviet exporters, reducing marketing expenses, and also optimizing purchases abroad, it is deemed expedient to form on a voluntary basis various types of foreign economic organizations, including intersectoral associations, consortiums, various associations, joint-stock companies, trade houses, and other organizations with the participation of the producers of output (work, services), and also, where necessary, banks, supply and marketing, and other organizations. The normatives for foreign currency deductions laid down for the participants in such organizations remain the same.

Enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations can export any output (work, services) they produce with the exception of particular types, of which the USSR Council of Ministers is drawing up a list.

Enterprises, associations, and other organizations can use their own funds or borrowings to import for their own needs raw materials, materials, subassemblies, machines and equipment, spare parts, and other goods and services needed for retooling, reconstructing, and expanding production, for conservation of the environment, for carrying out scientific research and experimental design work, and for other purposes envisaged by current legislation. Production cooperatives can use their own funds or borrowings to import goods (work, services) in accordance with the USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR."

The USSR Council of Ministers determines the list of output (work, services) whose import is banned.

They are also authorized to use their own foreign currency resources to send, in accordance with established procedure, specialists and other workers on business travel to participate in talks on scientific, technical, production, and commercial questions and in international exhibitions and fairs, to exchange experience, and to undergo training and to implement other activity in accordance with current legislation.

State enterprises, associations, and organizations are authorized to spend, by decision of the labor collectives, all their funds in transfer rubles and the national currencies of CEMA member countries and up to 10 percent (up to 15 percent for enterprises, associations, and organizations in the Far East Economic Region) of their funds in other foreign currencies, including freely convertible currency, on obtaining consumer goods, medicines, and medical technology and strengthening the material and technical base of the sociocultural sphere.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, with the agreement of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, is to introduce for specific periods licenses and quotas for exports and imports regarding individual goods, types of services, countries, or groups of countries in those instances where this is required by the state of payment relations or other economic and political conditions.

With the aim of safeguarding statewide interests in implementing foreign economic ties, the appropriate USSR ministries and departments are instructed to formulate proposals for a new USSR customs tariff, to ensure the gradual introduction, starting from 1 January 1989, of a system of measures for the effective nontariff regulation of foreign economic ties, and to expedite the drawing up of customs statistics, including the recording of cooperation implemented on the basis of direct ties and border and coastal trade.

It is planned to continue the line of consistently developing and deepening the principle of foreign currency cost recovery by enterprises, associations, and organizations, national economic sectors, and territorial complexes and of increasing the efficiency of their foreign economic activity.

With the aim of expanding the USSR's participation in the world division of labor, deepening integration processes, particularly in implementing new forms of cooperation, and increasing realism in assessing the efficiency of exports and imports it is planned to switch as of 1 January 1991 to using a new exchange rate in settlements regarding foreign economic transactions.

It is deemed necessary to simplify the existing system of settlement in implementing the export-import activity of state enterprises, associations, and organizations by gradually abandoning the use of differentiated foreign currency coefficients when converting actual contract prices into Soviet rubles.

Before switching to settlements using the new exchange rate, a 100-percent increase in the exchange rate of freely convertible currency against the ruble is to be introduced as of 1 January 1990.

With the aim of increasing economic interest and responsibility and expanding independence in implementing export-import operations, it is laid down that

payments into the foreign currency funds of state and public enterprises, associations, and organizations from the proceeds of exports of goods (work, services) are to be credited to their accounts as of the first quarter of 1989 as payments from the foreign buyer come in. Similarly, proceeds in foreign currency, after deductions paid to the state in accordance with established normatives, are to be transferred to the accounts of production cooperatives implementing foreign economic activity.

Normatives for deductions paid to the state, including deductions paid to union republic councils of ministers, from proceeds in foreign currency have been set for independently operating production cooperatives in 1988-1990 on the basis of the normatives envisaged for enterprises, associations, and organizations of local industry and republican ministries and departments regarding the payment of money into their foreign currency funds.

In those cases when cooperatives are organized under state, cooperative, or other public enterprises, organizations, and institutions, deductions from cooperatives' proceeds in foreign currency paid to the state, including deductions paid to the USSR ministries and departments or union republic councils of ministers within whose jurisdiction the enterprises, organizations, and institutions fall, are made on the basis of the normatives established for the said enterprises, organizations, and institutions regarding the payment of money into their foreign currency funds.

In order to develop the socialist enterprise of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations and expand their opportunities to enlist foreign currency to solve labor collectives' socioeconomic tasks, the free exchange of money from foreign currency funds and the sale and purchase of this money for Soviet rubles at contract prices at foreign currency auctions organized by the USSR Foreign Economic Bank are to be introduced.

For the purpose of more fully developing in the USSR the market for transfer ruble wholesale trade in means of production, the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, the USSR Ministry of Health, and the USSR Ministry of Trade are instructed to proceed from the premise that the value of the goods channeled for sale each year via wholesale trade must exceed the amount of money in transfer rubles in the foreign currency funds of enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations, USSR ministries and departments, and union republic councils of ministers.

When elaborating bonus systems for their personnel ministries, departments, and enterprises, associations, and organizations implementing foreign economic activity are recommended to proceed from the need to step up this activity, to increase the volume of deliveries of export goods, to expand the range of them, to develop production sharing [kooperatsionnyy] and other modern forms of cooperation, and to ensure the conclusion of interconnected export-import deals, the saving of foreign currency, and the reduction of imports.

It is established that enterprises, associations, and organizations delivering finished products for export pay some of the money from their foreign currency funds to subcontracting enterprises and organizations. The size of these payments is determined contractually in light of the participants' contribution to producing the export product.

Enterprises, associations, and organizations within the systems of all-union and union republican ministries and USSR departments pay 5 percent of the money from their foreign currency funds to the Moscow Gorispolkom, Leningrad Gorispolkom, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, autonomous republic councils of ministers, or councils of ministers of union republics which are not divided into oblasts according to the territory on which the relevant enterprises, associations, and organizations are located.

Where necessary, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and autonomous republic councils of ministers are recommended to create subdivisions of 2-3 persons to promote the development of the foreign economic activity of the enterprises, associations, production cooperatives, and other organizations located on their territory.

The Moscow Gorispolkom, Leningrad Gorispolkom, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and union and autonomous republic councils of ministers are granted the right to use up to 50 percent of the money in their foreign currency funds to acquire consumer goods, medicines and medical equipment, and equipment for conservation of the environment and to strengthen the material and technical base of the sociocultural sphere.

With a view to increasing Soviet construction and installation organizations' interest in acquiring foreign currency, they are authorized to tender for the construction on USSR territory of projects for whose construction foreign currency has been allocated.

With a view to stepping up work to create on USSR territory joint ventures with the participation of foreign countries' organizations and firms, it is established that:

the Soviet and foreign partners' shares of the incorporation capital are determined by agreement between them;

the chairman of the board or general director of a joint venture can be a foreign citizen;

fundamental questions of the activity of a joint venture are decided at board meetings on the basis of the unanimity of all board members;

questions of hiring and firing, the forms and size of remuneration, and material incentives in Soviet rubles with regard to personnel of the joint venture are decided by the joint venture;

goods imported into the USSR by a joint venture for purposes of production development can be liable to minimal duty or not liable to duty at all;

the foreign personnel of joint ventures pay for the housing and other services provided to them in Soviet rubles, with the exception of instances established by decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers.

With a view to providing additional incentives for the creation of joint ventures in the Far Eastern Economic Region it is deemed necessary to exempt these ventures from paying tax on profits for the first 3 years from the moment the declared profit is obtained.

The USSR Ministry of Finance is instructed to reduce to 10 percent the tax on the profits of joint ventures created in the Far Eastern Economic Region.

It is deemed expedient to grant the USSR Ministry of Finance the right not to tax for a specific period the portion of profits payable to the foreign participant in a joint venture when it is transferred abroad or to reduce the rate of the aforesaid tax if the treaty between the USSR and the relevant state provides for no alternative. This right is to be used chiefly when joint ventures are producing consumer goods, medical equipment and medicines, or high-technology output of great national economic importance, and also with respect to joint ventures in the Far Eastern Economic Region.

State enterprises, associations, and organizations are granted the right to adopt decisions on the creation of joint ventures or international associations and organizations with foreign organizations and firms with the consent of the superior management organ.

Production cooperatives create joint ventures or international associations and organizations with the participation of foreign organizations and firms with the consent of, accordingly, the council of ministers of a union republic not divided into oblasts, the autonomous republic council of ministers, the krayispolkom, the oblispolkom, the Moscow Gorispolkom, or the Leningrad Gorispolkom according to the location of the cooperative or with the consent of the ministry (department) under whose enterprise (organization, institution) the cooperative has been formed.

New construction or large-scale reconstruction in the creation of joint ventures or international associations and organizations are carried out with the consent of the territorial management organs.

In other cases the Soviet participants in joint ventures or international associations and organizations provide the territorial management organs with relevant information.

USSR ministries and departments are instructed to make changes to the relevant departmental normative documents, instructions, and methodological directives in light of the demands of the present resolution.

Scientific

TASS Notes Launching of 'Cosmos-1984' 16 Dec

LD1712084288 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—An artificial Earth satellite, Cosmos-1984, was launched by a Soyuz booster rocket in the Soviet Union on Friday [16 December].

The satellite is intended for continuing the exploration of outer space.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—89.6 minutes.

Maximim distance from the earth's surface—345 kilometers,

Minimum distance from the earth's surface—195 kilometers,

Inclination of orbit—62.8 degrees.

The on-board equipment is operating normally.

Hepatitis Scare May Force Cosmonauts to Moscow

AU1712155788 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 17 (AFP)—An outbreak of viral hepatitis in the Soviet Baykonur cosmodrome region could force two Soviet cosmonauts and their French colleague on board the orbital station Mir to return straight to Moscow after they land next Wednesday, reliable sources told AFP Saturday.

Frenchman Jean-Loup Chretien, and record-breaking Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov had earlier been scheduled to go to Baykonur after returning to earth in the Central Asian steppes.

Cosmonauts usually undergo the first phase of a rehabilitation programme at Baykonur, in the Central Asian Republic of Kazakhstan, after their long exposure to weightless conditions in space.

Mr. Chretien will have spent one month on board the Mir, while Mr. Titov and Mr. Manarov are returning after a record full year in orbit. The Russians have broken the previous space endurance record of 326 days set by fellow cosmonaut Yuriy Romanenko in December last year.

Soviet space officials are apparently considering taking the precaution of flying the three back to Moscow without stopping in Baykonur because of the body's low resistance to disease after a space mission.

Two other Soviet cosmonauts and a Soviet doctor are remaining on board the Mir after the departure of Mr. Chretien, Mr. Titov and Mr. Manarov.

Further on Activities Aboard 'Mir' Complex

Medical Work Continues

LD1612123588 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 16 TASS—The cosmonauts on board the orbiting platform Mir are concluding another working week.

The international crew on Friday will be mostly doing medical tests.

Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien will perform several more experiments under the supervision of Doctor Valeriy Polyakov. The studies will aim at extra information about human adaption to weightlessness.

The program also includes experiments to measure space ionizing radiation.

In the space conservatories "Vazon" and "Svetoblok" experiments are continuing to study the growth of plants and other biological species in space.

Vladimir Titov and Muasa Manarov on Friday will continue briefing Volkov and Sergey Krikalev on the peculiarities of using on-board systems and instruments. Among others, they will work with a Bulgarian-made astronomy system called "Rozhen".

The crew have reported that the flight is proceeding on schedule. The Soviet and French cosmonauts are in good health and feeling well.

Cosmonauts To Appear on TV

LD1712125188 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The Soviet-French space crew, comprising Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien will conduct another series of scheduled medical experiments today.

Aleksandr Volkov will undergo an echographical test and Jean-Loup Chretien will carry out the experiments "Physalie" and "Viminal". The aim of these experiments is to carry out a comprehensive study of the state of human organism in conditions of a space flight and learn more about the psychophysiological reactions of the cosmonauts at the stage of adaptation to weightlessness.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who have the longest endurance on board the space station "Mir", will study the dynamics and changes in the composition of gaseous atmosphere in the station's compartments and will have a two-hour training session on a training simulator.

The cosmonauts will also appear in a scheduled T.V. report in which they will tell about their work on the orbit.

The flight of the manned complex "Mir" is proceeding normally.

News Briefing Held

LD1812120488 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 18 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the mission control center: The international crew of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Jean-Loup Chretien have been working in orbit for three weeks now.

Today, they have a day of rest. A news conference was held during two communication sessions, during which the cosmonauts answered questions put by Soviet and foreign journalists.

The programme of the longest manned flight in the history of cosmonautics and of the Soviet-French expedition is drawing to an end. Tomorrow, the cosmonauts will conduct a final part of scientific research and experiments and will begin preparing the Soyuz TM-6 spaceship for a descent from orbit.

The flight of the manned complex Mir proceeds according to schedule. All spacemen feel well.